THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

1877 1930

Founded by JAMES KNOWLES

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CONTENTS FOR APRIL

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THE CRISIS IN THE UNIONIST PARTY

The author of *The Endless Adventure* has devoted a brilliant volume to the theme of politics as the art of gaining and keeping office. To illustrate this theme Mr. Oliver wisely selected the life and times of Walpole. No other period in our history, save, perhaps, the generation between the repeal of the Corn Laws and the outbreak of the Home Rule controversy, would have suited his purpose so well. For at other times individuals and parties are apt to find the normal exercise of their competitive activities in varying measure deranged and thrown out of gear by the incalculable intervention of ideas. There are even periods when the ideas become the protagonists and take charge, often with the most disconcerting effect upon the internal cohesion of parties and the fortunes of politicians. Such a period culminated in 1845 when the rising tide of the Free Trade idea swept Peel away in unreasoning surrender and left the Conservative Party an impotent rump.

Never was the victory of an idea so complete or so lasting.

It is true that in the domestic sphere its validity was successfully challenged by the first Factory Act at the very moment almost of its victory in the sphere of trade. In the external domain, too. its basic conception of the Empire as an unnecessary incubus, to be got rid of as soon as possible, began to give way, towards the close of the century, to a pride in British administrative and colonising achievement. But in the field of trade, where purely fortuitous circumstances, entirely unconnected with free imports, led to a generation of expansion and prosperity, it became a fixed dogma, and more than a dogma—a rooted intellectual and moral prepossession which admitted of no discussion. For nearly sixty years Protection was not merely dead, but damned. To question the efficacy of free imports implied not only sheer intellectual incapacity, but moral perversity as well. And this long after the theory had been discarded by all practical, and most intellectual, people in the world outside.

In May 1903 a great Imperial statesman, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, ventured to suggest that a slight modification of the rigidity with which the doctrine had been applied might be justified for the sake of closer Imperial unity. A shriek of horror arose, and the fiscal episcopate, in the shape of fourteen professors of economics, at once issued an encyclical to *The Times*, excommunicating him with bell, book, and candle. The Liberal Opposition exulted at the thought that their great adversary had committed himself to a plain avowal of heresy, while sober Conservatives shook their heads at the thought of such a bomb thrown into the political arena. The bomb certainly was alive, and evoked passionate enthusiasm as well as disapproval. The Great Taboo had been broken, and the stifled scepticism of years broke out in every direction. A flood of criticism against the whole Free Trade system poured in upon Mr. Chamberlain, and, almost before he realised what he had undertaken, he was committed to a comprehensive campaign for domestic protection and Imperial Preference.

His only available instrument was the Unionist Party, already exhausted and profoundly unpopular after nearly twenty years of office, and split by the new issue into three camps. There were the hard-and-fast Free Traders, most of whom went over to the Liberal Party. There were the 'whole-hoggers' who accepted Mr. Chamberlain's policy in its entirety, and the 'free-fooders' or 'retaliationists' who were for a mild measure of industrial protection, but were terrified—and not without reason—at the thought of the scope for misrepresentation afforded by any suggestion of 'food taxes.' Immediate defeat under such conditions was inevitable, and in 1906 the Liberal Party was returned to power with an immense majority. But the Liberals were

bankrupt of ideas, and, in spite of Mr. Chamberlain's illness, the new point of view grew and spread with amazing rapidity for the next three years, helped by a severe industrial depression. Then came Mr. Lloyd George's counterstroke of the 'land tax campaign,' the boldest piece of sheer political charlatanry in our generation—and the most successful. The Unionists fell into the trap, and, concentrating on a defensive criticism absolutely justified by the events, but quite futile from the point of view of electioneering, relaxed their successful anti-Free Trade propaganda. The elections of 1910 left the Irish in control, forced Home Rule once more to the front, and drove the Unionists still further on to the defensive. Presently all political issues were submerged by the war.

The war gave a great impetus to the Imperial idea, and in 1917, for the first time, a British Government, of which not only Mr. Lloyd George but Mr. Arthur Henderson was a member, formally accepted the principle of Imperial Preference in respect of any duties which we might impose. Effect was given to the resolutions in the Budget of 1919 in respect of existing dutiable commodities, and the principle has been applied since in connexion with all further extensions of duty, as a rule by the remission of one-third of the duty. On the issue of domestic protection the exchange of correspondence between Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Bonar Law before the 1919 election seemed at one time to foreshadow a definite advance. But, in fact, little was done beyond a very limited Safeguarding Act applied against certain low exchange countries specifically, the direct protection of a very narrow range of key industries, the creation of a protected monopoly in dyestuffs, and the maintenance of the McKenna duties, imposed for exchange and freight reasons during the war. In the Coalition Cabinet the Unionist members seemed more and more disposed to let the fiscal issue go to sleep, as an embarrassment to their Liberal colleagues with whom they were gradually beginning to contemplate a permanent alliance against the growing menace of Socialism.

This conception of an anti-Socialist coalition has always seemed to me fundamentally unsound. Its whole tendency would be to stereotype a party conflict on class lines, in which the more numerous class with a positive doctrine would be bound to triumph over the less numerous vested interests acting purely on the defensive. The only answer to Socialism is an alternative economic creed, offering a more direct and practical solution of our economic difficulties, and so getting rid of social discontent, a creed appealing to deep-seated national and Imperial instincts in every section of the population, and cleaving the community vertically on an intellectual and not horizontally on a class issue.

The protection of the British standard of living and the building up of the economic unity of the Empire is the only creed which will fulfil these requirements. It alone can not only defeat Socialism, but displace it as the foundation of our national thought, and thus dominate the conduct of affairs whatever party may be in office. It is a creed which is the natural economic application of the whole Conservative and Unionist political philosophy, to which Free Trade, with its abstract dogmatism and its international and anti-Imperial outlook, has always been fundamentally alien. The natural and obvious party to carry it through, even if it had not already embraced Tariff Reform and Imperial Preference as its main constructive policy before the war, was the Unionist Party. But it could not do so as long as it remained in coalition with Liberals to whom Free Trade was a conviction. The revolt against the Coalition in 1922 was due to many causes, not least to sheer, instinctive Tory reaction against Mr. Lloyd George's personality and methods. But as far as some, at least, of us were concerned, it was first and foremost an effort to prevent, at all costs, an anti-Socialist coalition on a Free Trade basis, and to free the Unionist Party for a constructive policy.

Obviously there was no time for developing such a policy in the election which was precipitated by the Carlton Club meeting. All Mr. Bonar Law could do was to keep his hands free, and this, immediately after the meeting, he very definitely assured a deputation of his colleagues that he would do. Unfortunately, in the course of the election, he was persuaded to tie his hands by a declaration that there was no question of a change in the fiscal system of the country. The fatal negative pledge came home to roost within a twelvemonth. For when Mr. Baldwin came to the conclusion, in the autumn of 1923, that there was no other possible remedy for the unemployment, which had then already continued for three years, than Protection, he felt precluded from taking any action before another election had been held. This is not the occasion to discuss why we slid into the election as we did: why it might not have been possible to give a year or more to education of the electorate, or to have waited at least for the Budget of 1924 and gone to the country upon our definite proposals in the following autumn. Suffice it to say that we risked a sudden election with the ground entirely unprepared. Most of our candidates had forgotten or had never learned the case against Free Trade. The elementary Free Trade gambit that things would be dearer was played recklessly and with great effect where no one was ready with the obvious rejoinders. The question of preferential duties on foodstuffs did not arise as a general issue, for nothing was proposed beyond the very minor duties agreed upon at the 1923 Imperial Economic Conference

before an election had been decided. But the 'dear food' cry was mobilised all the same. In the circumstances there was no real reason for grave disappointment if the election resulted in a defeat, especially keeping in mind the fact that, on substantially the same poll, the luck of the election was all with us in 1922 and all against us in 1923.

As a matter of fact the position of the Unionist Party in the new Parliament was a very strong one. The largest single party in the House, with the only policy that could relieve the critical industrial situation, they had simply to stick to their guns, make good the task of education for which they had failed to give themselves time before the election, and rely on the blunders of their opponents, to make certain of an early return, not only to office, but to real power. Unfortunately the election had created an unreasoning panic from which the party, as an organisation, is only now beginning to recover. The 1923 election programme was hurriedly dropped in favour of a tentative policy of safeguarding, pending the fuller education of the electorate. The election of 1924 was fought on a programme of safeguarding, but not general Protection, and Imperial Preference, but no food taxes. An unwieldy majority was no compensation for such restrictions upon the power of the Government to do what the urgent needs of the nation demanded.

But worse was to come. Inconvenient as were the negative pledges given at the election, they did not of themselves constitute an insuperable barrier to a very considerable practical advance. The pledge to safeguard every efficient industry suffering from unfair competition was, in any reasonable interpretation either of the pledge itself or of the situation, a pledge to help out industries generally, subject only to this limitation, that it was to be done, not by the immediate imposition of a tariff, but successively as each could prove its case before an impartial tribunal. The pledge against food taxation was expressly stated by Mr. Baldwin at the election not to affect the undertakings given at the Economic Conference, and could perfectly honestly have included an extension of the same policy, so long as the staple foodstuffs of the working classes were not affected. But the nervous paralysis after victory was for some inexplicable reason even greater than the panic after the earlier defeat. Safeguarding was hedged about with so many restrictions that it was almost as easy for the proverbial camel to pass through the needle's eye as for an industry to secure fair treatment. Small industries were excluded as not important enough, and large ones, because helping them, in accordance with the pledge given, might be held to raise the wider issue of 'Protection.' The food pledge was held to preclude even the fulfilment of the 1923 Conference

undertaking where it involved new duties, or the reversal of Mr. Snowden's reductions of existing duties.

The actual undertaking to the Dominions was, indeed, fulfilled in another way by the institution of the Empire Marketing Board, which has done immense service in quickening the whole conception of reciprocal trade and development in the Empire. Such few industries, too, as slipped through the meshes of the White Paper procedure afforded, together with the restored McKenna and subsequent silk duties, a valuable object-lesson in the actual working of Protection. But in the main, it must be confessed, the new Government made no honest attempt to carry out its election pledges with regard to safeguarding or Imperial Preference. Discussion of the fiscal issue was, as far as possible, discouraged. The Government became, in fact, as far as policy was concerned, a Coalition Government, without the advantage of the support of the Liberal Coalition organisation which the previous Coalition had enjoyed. The result was inevitable. In spite of an admirable record of good, solid legislative and administrative work, in spite of memorable achievements in the foreign, Imperial and domestic fields which will live in history, in spite of the growing esteem throughout the nation for the character of the Prime Minister, the Government itself consistently damped down the enthusiasm of its own supporters and increasingly dissatisfied and bored the general public.

When the election came last May the Unionist Government could point to a great deal of useful work done and of further work of the same kind in prospect. But it could not claim to have made any adequate attempt to grapple with the fundamental issue of unemployment. Nor, in spite of some slight loosening up on safeguarding, did it foreshadow any adequate attempt in prospect. Imperial Preference was still indefinitely barred by a renewal of the pledge against food taxes, and the throwing away of the whole of the tea duty was a gratuitous slap in the face to Imperial sentiment in the party itself. Against this depressing programme Mr. Lloyd George and the Socialists were able to offer at any rate the promise of vigorous, comprehensive, and far-reaching action. In Mr. Lloyd George's case the scheme was too good to be true and fell flat. But Labour had behind it not only the sweeping nature of its promises, but years of unintermittent preaching of the Socialist gospel, and even more the enormous growth of political class feeling which there had been nothing in the way of a positive appeal to counteract. Conservatism managed to save the counties. But industrial England swung solidly to Labour.

Since then the country has thought harder and travelled further than at any time since the war. For the first time it

has begun to realise the full seriousness of ten years of abnormal unemployment with no prospect of improvement and many signs of increasing deterioration. For the first time it has begun to grasp the fact that the trouble is due, not to incidental and temporary causes, but to a fundamental failure of our whole economic policy. For the first time it is uneasily beginning to come to the conclusion that, unless action is taken speedily, our whole industrial fabric may break down. Last, but not least, its eyes have been opened, in an amazing way, to the incredible absurdity of the policy we have been pursuing. The idols of three generations have, almost overnight, become ridiculous and odious. As far as the general public is concerned it is now Free Trade that is not only dead, but damned. Damned, too, will be anyone who is not clearly determined to sweep it away root and branch, or who boggles at any step in the task of reconstruction on protectionist and Imperial lines. For, in spite of the hesitation of politicians, the public, or rather the new ideas, have taken charge and nothing can stop them.

Many factors have contributed to this remarkable tide in public opinion. The steady aggravation of the unemployment situation has choked off the last hope of many who somehow expected miracles from a Socialist Government. Mr. Snowden's attitude over the McKenna and Safeguarding duties, and Mr. Graham's pitiful efforts to tie us up with a European tariff truce, have irritated all sections of the public beyond measure, and convinced them, more than anything else, that Free Trade is based on sheer unreason. The dumping of Prussian wheat and other Continental produce has created a widespread exasperation in the farming community, which has consistently complained, but never before threatened concerted political action. Even Lancashire in desperation is awakening to the fact that on Free Trade lines it is rapidly going to the wall. Above all, the public are beginning with increasing clearness to see that there is no alternative to the vicious circle of increasing unemployment, more doles, more taxes and consequent further unemployment, than the safeguarding of the home market and the economic unity of the Empire.

Among the first to voice, and in no small measure to stimulate, the change in public opinion on the Imperial issue was Lord Beaverbrook. A Canadian who entered English politics as a vigorous champion of the full Chamberlain policy, only his intimate personal association with Mr. Bonar Law prevented him from protesting more vigorously than he did against the latter's weakening on the 'food tax' issue in 1912. Of recent years, in spite of the influence he might have wielded by the consistent promotion of his views through the great newspaper

organisation which he had built up, he had been more and more of a puckish Achilles, sniping intermittently from his tent at friend and foe alike. The election of 1929 convinced him that things had become too critical for a continuance of this policy. Frankly apologising to the world for his past inconsequence, he launched a bold campaign for the idea of Imperial Economic Unity, or, as he himself has preferred to call it, Empire Free Trade. As a political artist Lord Beaverbrook paints with a broad brush. He belongs to the impressionist, not to say the futurist, school. That last adjective, indeed, is his best, and for the present purpose quite sufficient, answer to all the criticisms directed against the detailed features of the successive editions of his scheme as he has presented them to the public. What really matters is that the picture he paints is in its main outlines a true picture, and a great picture. His presentation of the subject gripped the public as no one had done since Mr. Chamberlain, and the fact that he deliberately thrust 'food taxes' in their most extreme form into the very forefront in no way diminished the appeal of his policy, and, indeed, greatly helped it with the farming interest. His own sincerity and passionate earnestness, and his courage in coming forward in person in the House of Lords and on the platform to advocate his cause, disarmed the sceptics who had begun by sneering at a fresh 'newspaper stunt.' By the close of the year interest had ripened sufficiently to warrant Lord Beaverbrook converting his general propaganda into the more definite organisation of an 'Empire Crusade,' a body which by February could count 200,000 members.

These developments could not fail to affect the internal situation in the Unionist Party. Throughout the lifetime of the late Government the rank and file of the party, as voiced by the National Union, had demanded a more forward fiscal policy with increasing insistence, but had been steadily stonewalled. In the House of Commons the large majority of active Protectionists in the party had been held in check, but not without continuous and growing mutterings of dissatisfaction. The change from Government to Opposition naturally led to a relaxation of discipline, intensified by the general feeling that the tactical considerations which had stifled the expression of Unionist convictions had proved mistaken when it came to the election. To these influences the directing machine was bound to respond. In November, at the Albert Hall, Mr. Baldwin accepted without qualification a resolution in favour of a more advanced policy on Safeguarding and Preference passed by the National Union, and proceeded in general terms to outline Imperial economic co-operation as the foundation of Unionist policy.

The demand for a more precise statement of fiscal policy grew

in insistence, and in response to it Mr. Baldwin on February 5 outlined his general programme—except for agriculture, which was left to a subsequent statement. That part of the speech which dealt with safeguarding marked a very definite advance. Safeguarding was no longer to be an experiment, but the normal armament of our industries, displacing the bows and arrows of Free Trade, and was to be available for negotiation and retaliation as well as for defence. It was to be applied on the sole responsibility of the Government, a phrase misinterpreted in some quarters as implying either that there would be no proper investigation or that applications might again be rejected on purely political grounds, but clearly meaning no more than that the detached attitude of the last few years would not be repeated, and that the next Unionist Government would regard safeguarding as its direct responsibility. On the Imperial side Mr. Baldwin sketched out a policy of industrial rationalisation on an Empire scale, declared for the maintenance of existing preferences, but barred the door to their extension by a repetition of the unqualified pledge against any taxation on food.

This severely limited Empire programme undoubtedly satisfied the majority of candidates and election agents who still lived under the shadow of the 1923 election. But by a large minority, and by the wider circle of those outside who believed in freer Empire Trade, it was received with dismay. Industrial rationalisation may some day be a very important factor in inter-Imperial economics, and even now may be of considerable value in enabling British industry to get the most out of existing preferences in the Dominions and in smoothing the way towards the acceptance of extended Preference by Dominion industries. But until the Dominions develop a large industrial export trade it cannot confer on them any advantages which would justify a wide extension of Preference on their part. That can only be done by Preference—coupled, it may well be, with rationalisation in relation to our own agriculture—to their agricultural exports. To those who, like myself, hold this view, and are convinced that the situation in the Empire is not one that allows of indefinite delays, it seemed intolerable to contemplate the possibility of yet another period of Unionist Government condemned by a negative pledge to the same sterility, as regards Imperial economic co-operation, that had marked the record of the last Government, to be followed, possibly, by a decade of even more negative Socialist rule.

I felt bound, therefore, to express my dissent from the Coliseum speech, and to plead for such a modification of the negative pledge as would allow of a sufficiently free hand to enable some progress to be made in negotiation with the

Dominions, and my plea was repeated in a speech of great breadth and cogency by Sir R. Horne a few days later. I fully realised the difficulties confronting the leader of the party in connexion with 'food taxes,' and was quite content to accept the position that certain staple foodstuffs might have to be excluded from consideration, or dealt with by other means than Preference, and, indeed, I believe that the peculiar conditions of agriculture in this country may make that the best solution in the case of wheat. All I was concerned with was that there should be room for some reasonable advance in preference which should set the tide running in the right direction and, as in the case of safeguarding, afford effective evidence of the unreality of the 'dear food' bogey. Misrepresentations of my attitude from opposite quarters made it possible for me to make it clear, and for Mr. Baldwin to confirm, that no disloyalty to the party or to its leader was implied in the effort to educate opinion towards some amendment of the Coliseum programme.

If that programme, as it stood, was inadequate from the point of view of those who, like myself, were prepared to acquiesce in a comparatively modest advance in Imperial economic co-operation, provided there was real advance, it was obviously unacceptable from the point of view of those who had espoused Lord Beaverbrook's Empire Crusade. It had already become plain that the Crusade might be something more than a mere educational body, and might be prepared to intervene actively in the selection of candidates or to put pressure on those who hesitated to accept its policy. But the public was quite unprepared for the bombshell which awaited it when on the morning of February 18 Lord Beaverbrook's and Lord Rothermere's papers announced the adhesion of the latter to the policy of Empire Free Trade, and the transformation of the Empire Crusade into a United Empire Party. The first impression was that Lord Beaverbrook had despaired of finding any bridge between his policy and Mr. Baldwin's, and had consequently joined hands in a movement directly aimed against Mr. Baldwin's leadership. For Lord Rothermere's animus against the Unionist leader, whatever its origin and continuing motives, was a matter of common knowledge. Nor, on that assumption, was there much ground for surprise in Lord Rothermere's adoption of a policy involving 'food taxes' which he had hitherto deprecated.

The new party started with a tremendous push in the Press of its promoters, and it would be a mistake to underrate the extent to which it appealed to a wide circle not only of Imperialists, but of Unionists dissatisfied with what they regarded as the lack of decision and courage in the general direction of the affairs of their party, or to take the actual numbers enrolling (173,000),

and the subscriptions collected, some 100,000*l.* in all, as the criterion of the strength of the new movement. On the other hand, the moment the crusade was converted into a party, and still more when it was announced that fifty Unionist seats in the South of England were to be attacked, the ranks of the Unionist Party closed solidly against it. No Unionist member of Parliament was deflected from his allegiance. In some quarters there was a vehemently hostile reaction against the wrecking tactics of the 'Press lords.' In others, where there was strong sympathy with the demand for a more active fiscal policy, there was apprehension, coupled with an earnest desire to find some compromise which would bring the United Empire Party back to the position of a propagandist wing of Unionism.

A fortnight was enough to make it clear that the new party could not hope to establish any place for itself in Parliament. But it was no less clear that it could seriously impair, and perhaps even wreck, the prospects of a Unionist victory at the election. For Lord Beaverbrook, concerned only with the victory of an idea, there was no object in destroying the only instrument which could carry it out, once he had succeeded in convincing candidates and party leaders that there were dangers more real and immediate than even the fear of misrepresentation over food taxes. His natural desire for a settlement may well have been strengthened by the vagaries of his colleague, who, in the interests of what he described as 'hundred per cent. Conservatism,' was daily adding new and highly disputable political items to the programme of what Lord Beaverbrook insisted was a purely economic party. He had throughout avoided Lord Rothermere's personal attacks on the Unionist leader, and in a speech at Gloucester on February 28 had made an earnest and conciliatory appeal to Mr. Baldwin to find agreement with him. On March 3, in view of the meeting of the National Union which Mr. Baldwin was due to address next day, Lord Beaverbrook went to see Mr. Baldwin and suggested to him the solution of a referendum on any inter-Imperial agreement which included food duties.

To this solution Mr. Baldwin's own mind had already definitely turned. No limitation of the pledge against food duties to essential or staple foods, no reservation of a reasonable freedom of action in regard to articles of minor importance, seemed to him to give immunity to his candidates against the 'dear food' cry, or to secure the electioneering advantage of the simple negative pledge. On the other hand, the referendum solved the difficulty involved in such a pledge—namely, that nothing could be done in the next Parliament without another election, which experience had shown meant that nothing would be done at all. The referendum alone could break the deadlock, and Mr. Baldwin

readily concurred in the suggestion. His colleagues were consulted and agreed. Next morning, in a speech which was as dexterous in its presentation as it was forceful and inspiring in its utterance, Mr. Baldwin laid the proposal before the National Union at the Hotel Cecil. The solution was acclaimed with unanimous enthusiasm and a vast sense of relief. The crisis within the party was solved—it is not altogether unreasonable to hope solved for good.

There remained the United Empire Party. Both Lord Beaverbrook's and Lord Rothermere's organs hailed the new solution with approval. But Lord Rothermere's concurrence had been reluctant and secured with no little difficulty. He was in no mood to join in the general acclamation of Mr. Baldwin. On the third day (March 7) he announced that the United Empire Party was to continue to promote the remaining items in his version of the party's policy and, as he has made clear since, to pursue the war against the 'old gang.' Lord Beaverbrook replied that this was going beyond the original objects for which the United Empire Party was formed, and, with grateful thanks and expressions of personal good-will, dissolved the short-lived partnership, taking the precaution at the same time to return all the subscriptions which had been sent in to United Empire Party I. So Mr. Esmond Harmsworth returned from the Continent to take over the chairmanship of the Executive Committee of United Empire Party II., an empty till and such enrolments as have continued to dribble in. What may be the position of United Empire Party II. by the time this article appears in print it would be premature to surmise. What is certain is that Lord Rothermere was never made such good use of as he was by Lord Beaverbrook in the best fortnight's entertainment witnessed in modern politics. It is not given to everyone to harness a rogue elephant and get the necessary heavy work done before the creature bolts back trumpeting to the jungle.

The question still remains, Has the referendum provided a real solution, or is it only a formula to bridge over differences which may soon reveal themselves anew? The previous history of the idea, which was first put forward, at Mr. Garvin's instigation, by the late Lord (then Mr.) Balfour on the eve of the 1910 election, and allowed to drop into quiet oblivion afterwards, may not be encouraging. But it is well to remember that in 1910 the referendum was a device for watering down a policy already adopted, whereas in 1930 it is introduced to enable a weak policy to be strengthened. The main argument advanced in its favour is that it will remove a great issue of inter-Imperial relations from the hazards of a General Election, and by securing a national verdict give to any agreement a sanction which would be

respected by any subsequent Government. But, in fact, there can be little doubt that when Free Trade goes it will go as irrevocably as Protection went in 1845, and the danger of a reversal of policy, still more of the repudiation of a formal inter-Imperial treaty, is not a very serious one. Nor is it easy to see how so vital an issue could either be kept out of the election preceding the referendum, or the referendum itself prevented from becoming almost a General Election in which the whole credit of the Government of the day was involved. There are other practical objections, real though not conclusive or insuperable. No progress, even on a small scale, can be made in the direction of increased Preference, or of help to British agriculture, pending the conclusion of some general inter-Imperial agreement sufficiently important to be the subject-matter of a referendum. The fact that such an agreement would require this special form of approval in our case may be felt by Dominion negotiators to put them at a disadvantage. If a single comprehensive agreement cannot be arrived at, but only smaller bi-lateral agreements, are these to be submitted to successive referenda, or is the first referendum, if favourable, to be held to have established the principle?

The real advantage of the proposal lies in this, that it enables the whole case for closer Imperial economic relations, and for food duties, to be vigorously argued on its merits without irrevocably committing the electorate. The elector is to have the opportunity of seeing exactly what he gets, as well as what he may be asked to give, before he gives anything. But it is only if the case is thus argued, if a Unionist Government is returned with a definite mandate to frame as comprehensive a treaty as it can secure—and that obviously must be one including duties on foreign foodstuffs—and if it throws itself whole-heartedly into the task of justifying that treaty to the country, that there is any real prospect of the election itself being won, or of the referendum resulting in a favourable answer. If, on the other hand, the referendum is to be used as a mere excuse for saying as little as possible about Imperial Preference, for avoiding any discussion of the implications of Imperial Preference in the way of duties on foreign agricultural produce, in fact for a general ostrich-like shirking of the issue, then there will be a disagreeable awakening at the election. For the 'dear food' cry, unless anticipated and countered by solid argument and in a frank and fearless spirit, will prove little less dangerous to weak-kneed candidates than if the party were directly asking for a free hand for food duties. Unless the party wishes to come to hopeless grief it must now make up its mind to preach 'food taxes' whole-heartedly, subject always to their submission to the referendum.

There is one further incidental advantage in the course proposed. That is, that British agriculture, in so far as its needs are not covered by the proposed guaranteed price for wheat, by anti-dumping duties, and by such other measures as Mr. Baldwin may yet announce, will have to look to the Imperial Economic Conference and to the referendum for help in its difficulties. It would be by no means inappropriate if at such a conference the President of the Board of Agriculture, as representing the nearest and not least important of the Dominions, in the economic if not in the political sense—namely, rural England—sat on the same side of the table with Dominion Ministers, assimilated his case to theirs, and secured their support for his claims.

All the above has been written, as, indeed, all recent controversy has proceeded, on the assumption that the fiscal issue will not be decided until there is another election. But it is at any rate conceivable—and 1845 affords a precedent—that the industrial situation may become so much worse, and public opinion so insistent on an immediate solution, that Free Trade may be swept away in the lifetime of the present Parliament, and by some regrouping within it. If so, it is also not inconceivable that the Imperial Economic Conference of next autumn might register an advance, by consent of all parties, which will render the referendum superfluous and entirely change the course of our affairs. That is as may be. One thing stands. The new ideas are on the march and will not be stayed.

L. S. AMERY.

CROSSING THE RUBICON?

On February 5, 1930, the Church Assembly, after a memorable debate, adopted the following resolution:

> That whereas, in the words addressed to the Church Assembly on July 2, 1928, by Archbishop Davidson, with the concurrence of the whole body of diocesan Bishops, 'it is a fundamental principle that the Church, that is the bishops together with the clergy and laity, must in the last resort, when its mind has been fully ascertained, retain its inalienable right in loyalty to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to formulate its faith in Him and to arrange the expression of that holy faith in its form of worship':
>
> It is desirable that a Commission should be appointed to inquire into the present relations of Church and State, and particularly how far the principle stated above is able to receive effective application in present circumstances in the Church of England, and what legal and constitutional changes, if any, are needed in order to maintain or to secure its effective application: and that the Archbishops be requested to appoint a Commission for this purpose.

The language is rather cumbrous than obscure. The reference to the proposed Commission is so framed as to admit of a report indicating that, in the judgment of the Commissioners, the 'fundamental principle' of spiritual independence has nowise been violated or imperilled by the rejection of the Prayer Book Measure, that the Establishment as it now exists is in an entirely satisfactory condition, and that, in short, the Church of England has made 'much ado about nothing.' Such a report, however, is precluded by the circumstances in which the Commission has been agreed upon, by the language of the Archbishop of York in moving his resolution, by the controversy proceeding in the Church, and, above all, by the apparent deadlock into which the Establishment has been brought by recent events. Everybody understands that the task of the Commission is to review the relations of Church and State *in order to discover an alternative to Disestablishment as a way of escape from the 'impossible' situation which now exists.* The one Primate emphasised the essential immorality of the existing confusion, the other dwelt on the practical danger; but the arguments of both led to the same conclusion, namely, that the Establishment as it now stands

cannot be rightly suffered to continue, that its continuance breeds discord in the Church and discredit to the bishops, that, alike for sound discipline and for clerical self-respect, the Establishment must be either mended or ended.

Very justly, then, did the *Guardian*, which may be accepted as the quasi-official mouthpiece of the hierarchy, describe the Assembly's vote as 'a great historic event,' and the *Church Times*, which is thought to express the mind of the working clergy, declare the debate which preceded the vote to be 'sufficiently memorable to be called historic.' The grave warnings of the Church's representatives in Parliament, when the Prayer Book Measure was before the Houses, have been abundantly justified. The issue of Disestablishment has been definitely raised. Church and State are in conflict on a 'fundamental principle.'

The situation is novel, piquant and perplexing. Never before has the Establishment been challenged from the side of the Church. Hitherto the loyalty of English Churchmen has been appealed to in the interest of 'Church defence,' and 'liberation' has been the label of the enemy. Now the wheel has gone full circle, and the English Churchman is bidden, like the 'proud Sicambrian' at his baptism, to 'burn what he has worshipped and to worship what he has burned.' No wonder, then, that there is widespread consternation, and not a little genuine perplexity, in the Church of England. Why is it that the relations of Church and State in England, which were ardently defended up to the brink of the Great War, when Welsh Disestablishment was resisted by a practically united Church, have now become so profoundly unsatisfactory in the eyes of English Churchmen as to be declared publicly, and in the most emphatic manner, to imply the violation of the 'fundamental principle' of spiritual independence? How has it to come to pass that the sacrosanct Establishment has acquired so sinister a character that, in the deliberate judgment of the weightiest spokesmen of the Church of England, it must be 'either mended or ended? The rejection of the Prayer Book Measure by the House of Commons—a proceeding unquestionably consonant with a law passed less than ten years previously at the Church's own instance—might provide the pretext, but certainly could not itself constitute the reason, for so dramatic and complete a revolution of Anglican opinion. How, then, is it to be explained?

It is important to distinguish between two kinds of Establishment, which are easily confused in men's minds, which presuppose different social and political situations, and which necessitate quite different ecclesiastical arrangements. Establishment may mean either the legal system by which a Christian nation transacts its ecclesiastical business, or the concordat between

the Church and the State, which delimits their respective spheres of control, and effects a working arrangement between them. The latter obtained generally in the Middle Ages. It implied a territorial organisation of the Church and the ecclesiastical unity of Christendom. The Church, identified by the reigning sacerdotalism with the clergy, acknowledged a twofold allegiance. It was subject to the Roman pontiff in spiritual things, and to the national monarch in secular. But these were apt to overlap, and, in point of fact, there was always a large debatable land between them, control over which was incessantly and sometimes hotly debated. The waxing self-consciousness of the European nations conflicted ever more sharply with the claims and interests of an international Church, and the enormous practical abuses of the ecclesiastical system rendered it an easy prey to the secular power, when once that power had become definitely hostile. Wherever the Reformation prevailed, Establishment by the method of concordats between Church and State passed away, and was succeeded by national establishments of religion, among which that in England had a unique character.

In England alone the Reformation was carried through by the national authorities. The King, the Parliament, and (very reluctantly) the Convocations were the instruments by which the religious change was effected. It followed that the English Reformation never acquired the revolutionary character which obtained elsewhere. The mediæval territorialism remained the assumption on which ecclesiastical arrangements were based, and the broad lines of the mediæval system were maintained. The Church of England, severed from the Roman obedience, and definitely repudiating all extra-national authority, was conceived of as the spiritual aspect of the nation, which, in the plenitude of an imperial autonomy, ordered its ecclesiastical affairs through the clergy, and its secular affairs through the officers of the State. The essential unity of the Christian nation was the governing idea of the Establishment. How different was the genesis of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland! There the Reformation was forced on a reluctant Government by religious rebels, and its triumph was everywhere marked by a systematic destruction of whatever was distinctive of mediæval Christianity. The course of Scottish history has had the effect of clothing the Church of Scotland with a national character, but its organic connexion with the State has been of the slightest, and it has ever guarded its spiritual independence with jealous care. The Church of England is mediæval in organisation, but modern in spirit. The Church of Scotland is modern in organisation, but mediæval in spirit. While the one Establishment has been denounced as 'Erastian,' the other, with not less reason, has been

accused of 'ultramontanism.' The difference between the two Established Churches is so profound and so penetrating that to argue from the one to the other is misleading and may be the cause of great disappointment.

The distinctiveness of the Church as a spiritual society and the fundamental importance of its independence, which were brought home to the Church of Scotland by the circumstances of its Reformation, are being taught to the Church of England by the course of its history. The presuppositions of the English Establishment have been destroyed by the social and political development of the nation. Thus the secularisation of the State, which has left the Establishment in Scotland practically unaffected, because the links between Church and State were in Scotland less legal than personal and theoretical, have in England brought the Establishment to apparent deadlock, because in England the Church has been so closely bound into the national system as to be an integral part of its structure. Indeed, it is precisely this intimacy of the legal and constitutional union between Church and State in England which has rendered the process of Disestablishment so complicated and disturbing that thoughtful English Churchmen have shrunk from attempting it, preferring rather to acquiesce in numberless anomalies and paradoxes, in spite of the discredit and weakness which confessedly these have inflicted on the cause of religion, than to embark on so formidable an enterprise.

Recent developments both in Church and State have, however, so altered the perspective in which Disestablishment is necessarily viewed that the subject has lost its abhorrent aspect, and no longer seems of the first importance to the public. While the national character and claims of the Church of England have in the minds of Churchmen rapidly waned, and been replaced by larger and more religious conceptions, the State has been completely democratised, with the result that the Established Church has declined into a comparatively petty factor in political life. The 'Nonconformist conscience' has traversed the same fortune. It is no longer a power of any consequence in the political sphere. Neither the Established Church nor Nonconformity retains its former importance. Ecclesiastical questions are no longer interesting to the majority of English citizens. Had the pre-war electorate remained, there can be little doubt that the action of the House of Commons in rejecting the Prayer Book Measure would have forced the question of Disestablishment into the forefront of politics, but the effect of the last two Franchise Acts in trebling the number of parliamentary voters has revolutionised political values. The electorate now is vastly more interested in wages and hours than in creeds and liturgies, and the rivalries of

Churches move the disgust rather than the concern of the public.

In these circumstances, always provided that the State is prepared to acquiesce in the Church's formal repudiation of its spiritual authority, there appears to be no reason why the Establishment should not linger for some considerable time. Such acquiescence, of course, cannot be regarded as assured: it may be quickly destroyed by some intolerable outbreak of lawless individualism among the parochial clergy, or by some scandalous development of popular rowdyism among the Protestant laity. Neither of these unpleasant contingencies can be regarded as improbable. Having placated its 'corporate' conscience by recording a protest and appointing a Commission, why should not the Church settle down to a situation of recognised lawlessness, limited only by the caution of incumbents and the resolve of the bishops to tolerate no moral misconduct? A 'go-as-you-please' Church would match well enough the prevailing temper of the public, which likes variety and dislikes discipline, while all the zealots of religious party would rejoice in an unhindered liberty of propaganda. Devout people, who desire above all things to escape from controversy, in order that they may concentrate their efforts on religious and philanthropic work, will be disposed to reckon an abeyance of discipline but a small price to pay for a cessation from political conflict.

There remains, however, a factor which is not easily reconciled with so slipshod an arrangement. There is the moral issue to be faced. Very truly did the Archbishop of York in moving his resolution emphasise the moral difficulty as primary:

> The evils from which we at present suffer [said His Grace] are of a kind which gravely imperil the evangelistic and spiritual work of the Church in the parishes from moment to moment. The main evil is that it is radically bad for any society to conduct its life in uncertain relationship to the law which is supposed to govern it, and that uncertainty does exist. The difficulty with which we are confronted at the moment is not primarily administrative, but moral. There is no certainty on the question of lawful authority. . . . The course taken by the bishops since July 1928 was, I believe, the right and inevitable course, but I also believe that it is morally indefensible unless we are at the same time setting our hands to deal with the situation which created the problem.

The bishops are openly breaking the law which they are pledged to administer, and they are sanctioning breaches of the law by the clergy. Their defence is that the law has broken down, and that only their illegal action stands between the Church and complete confusion. This defence is not adequate, nor even respectable, unless those who offer it are making an honest and resolute effort to change the existing Establishment so as to make

a return to legality possible. Hence the Commission 'to inquire into the present relations of Church and State.'

The Archbishop thought that 'a Commission, if set up, would take five years to report.' It is not quite obvious why such *prolonged investigation* should be requisite. The relevant *facts are perfectly well known to every competent lawyer and to most educated clergymen. They have often been discussed. There is* no mystery about the reasons why the Establishment has long been regarded with misgiving by religious Anglicans, and is now by many looked upon as morally indefensible. The untoward incident in the House of Commons focussed public attention on one aspect of it—namely, the subordination of the Church of England to Parliament in spiritual matters. But there are other features of the Establishment which are not less offensive in principle, and even more mischievous in practice. The paralysis of the legal system by the 'Erastian' character of the final court, and the appointment of the bishops by the Crown on the nomination of a Prime Minister, who may be neither a Churchman nor even a Christian, with complete disregard of the interest of a diocese or the wishes of the Church, are notorious incidents of the present situation which perhaps loom larger in the eyes of ordinary Churchmen than the spiritual supremacy of Parliament: because, while this supremacy is but rarely exercised, and causes no more than an occasional scandal, they are normal factors of the Church's life, and breed a continuing irritation.

Meanwhile, the whole subject of the Church's position in modern society is being forced into a new prominence and seen in a new perspective. It is no longer even roughly true to say, with Chief Justice Hale, that 'Christianity is part of the laws of England, and therefore to reproach the Christian religion is to speak in subversion of the law.' Anti-Christian books pour from the presses, contemptuous references to Christianity are familiar in newspapers and in the common intercourse of society. It is hardly excessive to say that in England to-day Christianity is everywhere on the defensive. The tone of society is reflected in politics, where the triumph of democracy has vested the power of the State in a vast electorate, in which professed Christians are but a small minority. As the Christian tradition wanes, the consequences of this fact will become increasingly apparent, and these cannot but affect the relations of Church and State.

An episcopal Church is in special degree exposed to the danger of 'Erastian' manipulation, because the appointment of the bishops by the State—an invariable circumstance of the Church's established position—may easily become a potent instrument for shaping ecclesiastical opinion and policy. In the past the Crown patronage has been notoriously used for the

State's own purpose. This abuse is the historical source of that alienation of the working clergy from the episcopate which, though in an attenuated form, has survived until the present time, and does certainly tend to render the work of ecclesiastical administration more difficult. When, after the accession of the *Hanoverian dynasty, party government became the rule in England, the Crown patronage was habitually used in the interest* of the dominant party. So strongly rooted was this ill habit that even so religious a prelate as Bishop Gibson was content to be 'Walpole's Pope' and assist that cynical statesman in packing the Bench with his political supporters.

> Gibson's acceptance of the position of confidential adviser of the Ministry had cemented this alliance between clerical and lay Whigs. He regarded it as a duty to defend the Administration against its enemies, and there can be no doubt of his fidelity in the discharge of it. His purpose in filling the vacancies on the Bench with Whigs had been to strengthen the party interest where it was most needed, in the Church and in the Parliament, and the constant support which the bishops had given in the House of Lords had fulfilled his expectations.[1]

This subordination of spiritual to political considerations in the administration of the Crown patronage lasted far into the nineteenth century, and cannot be said to be yet wholly extinguished. The personal piety of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury checked but did not destroy it. Far more effective reasons for its decline were the new vigilance of public opinion, and the waning political importance of the episcopal vote in Parliament. The first made the abuse politically unwise, the last reduced its practical value to vanishing point. When the nineteenth century began, the twenty-six spiritual peers might have had considerable, even decisive, weight in the House of Lords, which then was a potent factor in the Constitution. To-day the bishops are a negligible element in a House which numbers more than 750 members, and whose powers have been reduced to a shadow. There are, however, reasons for thinking that the ancient abuse may return in a new and more formidable shape.

With the emergence of organised 'Labour,' and its rise to political dominance, a momentous change is passing over the whole situation. The time-honoured strife of Whig and Tory, Liberal and Conservative, was essentially political, and never went very deep. Both parties held fast to the fundamental postulates of civilised order as it had descended from the Middle Ages. Both took for granted the system of society and the constitution of the country. The game of party politics, as it may be studied in the luminous pages of Disraelian fiction, never went far below the surface. This character of English political life

[1] *Vide* Sykes, *Edmund Gibson*, p. 144 (Oxford).

was assisted by the circumstance that a political career was for the most part beyond the reach of any but members of the governing class, and these were commonly educated together in school and university, and bound into the habit of an exclusive society, coming thus to share a common heritage of ideas, traditions and ideals. Even the economic revolution, which brought the middle classes into political dominance, did not essentially alter this aspect of party politics. It remained an affair of the surface, which left undisturbed the foundations of society.

The 'Labour' Party stands outside this comity of party habit based on community of social tradition. It has, indeed, attracted to itself a certain number of recruits from the older parties. The *déclassé* aristocrat is ever a familiar feature in revolutions. No doubt the presence of non-Labour elements in its ranks tends to obscure the essential novelty of 'Labour's' political type. Their influence as a moderating power is not likely to be considerable or permanent. The future of 'Labour' as a distinct and distinctive element in our politics lies with its left wing. Already, both in Parliament and in the constituencies, a change is perceptible. Politics is ceasing to be a friendly game and becoming a grimly serious business. The old social amenities which once mitigated its rigours and bridged its chasms are ceasing to be possible. The divergence of class habit and culture is too great. There is no common fund of assumptions on which political controversy can proceed, and party differences are pushed down to the foundations of economic system, social order, and even personal morality. The entrance of women into the political arena has certainly not tended to arrest this development. Not the compromising temper of political opinion but the passion of religious conviction is beginning to mark the course of political controversy. 'Labour' is really less a party than a Church. It dogmatises, denounces, and excommunicates more naturally than it reasons, co-operates, and consents to compromise. Socialism and Communism are creeds rather than programmes; and they inspire their advocates with a propagandist zeal comparable with that which is bred in the Churches. Generally on the Continent, and largely in this country, Socialists and Communists are frankly hostile to Christianity, in which, indeed, they recognise their most formidable opponent. It is difficult to see how it could be otherwise, for their distinctive doctrines appear to disallow the postulates of religion, and to conflict with the morality on which the civilised order of historic Christendom has been built. There are, indeed, both on the Continent and in Great Britain, many excellent persons who cling to the hope that a reconciliation may be effected between the Christian religion and the types of economic and social order which Socialists and Communists seek

to establish on the ruins of the existing society. But experience in the past and in the present does not authorise their hope, and certainly the recent appearance in Russia of a Communist State which is aggressively atheist goes far to disallow it.

History is fertile in surprises; and Christianity is almost infinitely adaptable. The Church which could consecrate the despotism of Justinian, and create the Holy Roman Empire, may conceivably be able to discover a *modus vivendi* with modern democracy, and even with the socialistic or communistic State. It is rash to prophesy, but it were foolish to disregard the lessons of experience. Such precedents as the past offers to the present are not helpful or hopeful. The age-long controversy between sacred and secular is taking new forms. Mediæval dualism, a reversion to which is not the least singular feature of our time, is conditioned by the modern novelty of the 'neutral' State. There is no longer, as in the past, a conflict between clergy and laity within a Christendom, but the Church ordered as a spiritual society (bishops, clergy and laity) confronts the State organised as non-religious in theory, and always tending in practice to become anti-religious. The ancient besetting sin of the Christian Society, which, by an odd historical accident, has come to be known as 'Erastianism,' takes a subtler and more dangerous form in the circumstances of our age.

In view, then, of the actual situation in which we find ourselves, and taking account of the tendencies which are now prevailing in the modern world, may it not be for the Church of England the wisest, and withal the most self-respecting, course *to get clear, at whatever cost of sentiment and material interest,* of a connexion with the State which is plainly outworn and ineffective, but which may easily become spiritually paralysing, and to face the formidable future, which is taking shape before our eyes, with her spiritual character vindicated, and her freedom of action assured?

HERBERT DUNELM.

THE INDIAN SCENE

A Reply

The Earl of Lytton's article under this heading in the March number of this Review deserves careful attention as coming from one who has had five years' experience of the Governorship of Bengal, and who acted as Viceroy for four months during Lord Reading's absence on leave in England. I do not think that I am doing Lord Lytton any injustice if I suggest that when he went out to Bengal he shared Mr. Montagu's ideals in regard to the future of India, but that when he returned his Bengal experience had caused him to lose some of his illusions. That the old ideals had not entirely been dissipated seems to follow from the fact that many of the conclusions formed from his actual experience seem to conflict with many of the optimistic hopes which he expresses from time to time in his article. With all deference to Lord Lytton, I cannot but feel that certain arguments are put forward, and deductions made, in his presentation of the case which do not stand analysis, if all the known facts are brought into the picture.

Lord Lytton explains how the Indian problem has come to be discussed in anticipation of the Simon Commission's Report.

> Lord Irwin [he writes] had experienced, as others have done before him, the great difficulty of convincing Indians of the sincerity of British profession of sympathy with their national aspirations. Being himself a man of transparent sincerity, he was grieved to find himself in a fog of suspicion and mistrust, which he was quite unable to dissipate.

He goes on to explain that it was not merely unreasonable extremists who had to be satisfied, but the genuine misgivings of men of sober judgment as to the definition of the goal, and the equally serious misgivings of the Indian princes as to their place in the future Indian Constitution. Lord Irwin's policy was thus directed to a clearer definition of the goal and to the summoning of a tripartite Conference between the British Government, the princes, and British India to discuss the constitutional changes which it would be possible to undertake, this Conference to be held after the publication of the Simon Commission's Report.

His object was to make 'a final attempt to dissipate, if possible, this atmosphere of mistrust before the Report of the Commission was published.' Without doubt this explanation by Lord Lytton of the reasons which moved the Viceroy to the action that he took is entirely true, but it does not in the least follow that Lord Irwin's reading of the situation was equally correct.

The questions that require an answer are: First, was there any such genuine mistrust? Secondly, by whom was it felt? And thirdly, if there was such genuine mistrust, was it likely to be dissipated by the policy followed? If there was no such mistrust, or if it was only felt by a very few, or if Lord Irwin's declaration had not allayed it, then, however transparent Lord Irwin's sincerity (and I am sure that nobody doubts that), the declaration itself may prove to have been unwise. Lord Lytton dwells upon the unanimity of approval which was expressed at the time by various sections of opinion in India. Many things are hailed with approval on the impulse of the moment which afterwards prove to have been disastrous. The belief in Lord Irwin's honesty of purpose may have deterred many British in India from expressing misgivings which they could not entirely banish from their minds. There may also have been many educated Indians who were afraid to say what they really thought through the very natural fear that they would be vilified as unpatriotic—a fear which causes large numbers of Indians to express a lip sympathy with things which they cordially fear and mistrust. As to illiterate Indians (very nearly 300,000,000), they have no idea whatever what the whole thing is about, except that they are told that 'Swaraj' is nearer, and suppose that Government must be for some mysterious reason on the side of the Swarajists, or the latter would not have been enjoying full licence to abuse and oppose the Government.

To come back to the questions that I have just asked, what is this all-pervading 'fog of suspicion and mistrust' with which every new Viceroy 'finds himself involved'? It has been the stock-in-trade of Indian politicians ever since this class came into existence. It is merely an Oriental exploitation of British honesty. They ask for a sign, and directly they have been given one sign they ask for another, and so it will be until there are no British left to give them any more signs. The fog is not a genuine fog, but an artificial smoke screen put up by agitators to cover their designs and to make it be thought that they are most reasonable men, merely asking to have their honest doubts removed. In the first place, Mr. Montagu's announcement and the effect given to it by the Government of India Act were surely signs enough of the British Government's benevolent intention. Yet, in the very first Assembly, efforts were made to rip up the infant

Constitution, and such efforts have persisted ever since. What more signs could be wanted? Enlarged legislative councils with overwhelming Indian majorities were conceded; half the executive councils consist of Indians, while a number of portfolios in every province was entrusted to Indian Ministers. The services were steadily Indianised and a beginning made to train Indians to officer Indian regiments; local self-government was released from a much-needed control; fiscal autonomy was granted in all essentials, and a start was made with protective duties; the Press Act and certain other enactments were given up—a step of which the present state of the country shows the unwisdom. In fact, the general atmosphere in India has been one of increasing Indianisation, not only of personnel, but of commercial and economic interests. The Government of India has used its best endeavours and all its influence to defend the Indian cause in South Africa and throughout the Empire. In spite of all these things, we are told of the same old fog persisting. The Government has meekly submitted to the tyranny of an autocratic president of its chief Legislative Chamber. It has even refrained from prosecuting sedition, except in the case of outbursts so rabid that the very stones would have cried out if the law had not been set in motion. At every stage the performance of Government has exceeded its promises, and yet the fog of suspicion and mistrust has, we are told, thickened instead of lifting—the fog of pretence raised by politicians suspicious that Great Britain does not mean well by India—and yet more and still more signs must be given.

So Lord Irwin made his famous pronouncement regarding 'Dominion status' and the Round Table Conference. Whom exactly does this pronouncement conciliate? It has failed to mitigate the violence of the Youth Party, who made a dastardly attempt upon the life of the Viceroy and are still planning further outrages. It has failed to win the blessing of the so-called saint 'Mahatma' Gandhi and of the National Congress. It is supposed to have won a few gentlemen who were sitting on the fence and who are flatteringly described as moderates. I give here a report of the resolutions passed at a 'moderate' meeting of prominent people of a district in Berar held at a certain cotton town, which may be taken as a specimen of what such meetings are. It was passed by people of whom not half a dozen probably could have given any coherent account of what the term 'Dominion status' might mean. This meeting was held on December 15, six weeks after the announcement, and the resolutions passed were as follows (the italics are mine):

1. That this meeting of the prominent people of all the parties in the district appreciates the sincerity of H.E. the Viceroy *in trying to solve*

Indian political problem by making the announcement stating that natural issue of India's constitutional progress as defined in the Declara- of 1917 is the attainment of Dominion status.

2. That this meeting accepts the offer of a joint discussion by repre- tatives of India with the representatives of the British nation. This eting, however, understands that the proposed meeting will proceed rame a scheme of Dominion constitution for India, and will not discuss en Dominion status is to be established in India.

3. That this meeting, however, is of opinion that, in view of the absolute cessity of securing a calm atmosphere for the proposed discussion, and o with a view to assure the Indian public in a sure and practical manner out the good intentions of the Government—a step which has become badly necessary in view of the discussion in the House of Lords and of subsequent letter of Mr. MacDonald in reply to Mr. Baldwin's letter him in this connexion—the Government will please declare without ay the grant of a general amnesty to all the political prisoners in India, *luding revolutionaries of any type.*

4. That to further achieve the objects of the said Declaration this eting considers it *absolutely necessary* that the constitution and pro- ure of the said Conference be forthwith published, and that *effective urances be given to the Indian public that effect will be given to the views he Indian representatives at the proposed Conference.*

This being the kind of stuff of which such meetings are com- sed, and also the kind of stuff which they produce, it seems idle lay much stress on the conciliation of the good people of the ldana district. The town of Khamgaon, where this meeting s held—and, indeed, the people of the Buldana district—are re interested in the price of cotton than in any politics outside ir district. They live by growing, selling, ginning and press- cotton, as well as gambling in cotton prices, and that is lly the only thing that interests them. A handful of pleaders st have drafted these resolutions, backed up by schoolboys, l meekly accepted by a mystified audience of people who ow no English.

It seems fairly obvious that those among the political *intelli- tsia* of India who are ambitious to obtain the complete con- l of its Government are divided into three sections :

(1) The ultra-revolutionary who proposes to use bombs and lets.

(2) The so-called 'non-violent,' civil disobedience people— nely, Gandhi and the National Congress.

(3) The so-called 'moderates,' who envisage complete minion status at a very early date.

All these parties aim at absolute independence from British ntrol, for the third party regard full Dominion status as tanta- unt to independence. These are really all working together, l they all three understand quite well what is expected of each them. The National Congress Party likes to have a party of

force on its left and a party of so-called constitutionalists on its right, who can all, in their several ways, help in obtaining from the British nation the withdrawal of British authority at which they are aiming. The middle party professes to dislike the bombs of the left, yet hails the bomb-throwers as patriots, while the constitutional party in their turn deprecate any repression of the middle party, holding out the threat that in that case they would be driven to join it.

The Indian princes are very apprehensive about their status. They have immense confidence in the sincerity of the Viceroy, and naturally support his policy. At the same time, they do not wish to antagonise too much the politicians who are able to stir up a good deal of mischief in their States. They do not wish to express candid opinions about British India in case they invite the obvious retort that, if they claim independence of British India for themselves, they had better refrain from any interference in the concerns of British India. The line of least resistance, in their case, is to applaud Dominion status for British India so long as their own independence is guaranteed.

When people talk about European opinion they should make it clear that they mean the opinion expressed by some leading commercial men, most of whom live in the Presidency towns. They do not know what the opinions may be of the rank and file of European commercial men living in the country districts, and they do not know what the opinion may be of European officials, who best of all understand how the governmental machine will work or break down under purely Indian control, but are mute Large numbers of Europeans in the Presidency towns consist of juniors in the big firms ; they take little or no interest in politics, and are content to follow the lead of their seniors ; even if they thought otherwise, they would hesitate to oppose these seniors. Indian politicians have been able to bring economic pressure by means of boycotts and strikes upon European commercial men, and, finding the Government unable to help them in these difficulties, while admiring the high character of the Viceroy and his sincere efforts to win by conciliation, they have found themselves obliged to take their cue from him in the hope that they will thereby receive generous consideration from Indian politicians whom they have helped to place in power. It seems more likely, however, that their efforts at conciliation, however much they win the applause of Indian politicians now, will ultimately avail them nothing when these politicians are well seated in the saddle and this European help is no longer of any use to them. Lord Lytton thinks that this announcement has brought peace to India. It may have brought about a lull, but the lull is an artificial one, as events are showing and will continue to show. The

opposition, violent and non-violent, are redoubling their efforts, while the moderate claim has become immediate Dominion status with a few transitory safeguards perhaps, but safeguards for the removal of which immediate agitation will begin if the main prayer is granted. All these results have been brought about by convincing everybody in India, who can think at all, that the Government is continuously giving way to the agitator. Nothing is said about the many hundreds of British and the many thousands of educated Indians who heard of the announcement with alarm and consternation. Recent attacks on British rule in the Assembly were made by men who were supposed to have been conciliated, and the British Press in India, which has given its blessing to Dominion status, may be hard put to it presently to justify its enthusiasm.

Lord Lytton contends that even the lower castes share the dream of *Swaraj*. If it is a dream, it is a nightmare. A large artisan association asked the Simon Commission for a 'Free State of India,' but they particularly stipulated that 'the control of the British Parliament should continue as at present.' They asked that the British personnel in the Army and Civil Services should remain as at present. Their representation was full of distrust and detestation of Brahmins, and their detailed scheme provided that Brahmins should have no share in the Executive Government. What does Lord Lytton himself say about 'Dominion status'? He emphasises the fact that the words used were 'Dominion *Status*,' not 'Dominion *Constitution*' or 'Dominion *Government*.' He will forgive me for saying that by this emphasis he has inadvertently supplied the agitators with excellent material for deepening that fog of mistrust which Lord Irwin has been trying to dissipate. They will at once say, Here is one more instance of British insincerity; to us Dominion status means the full self-governing status of Canada or Australia, but here is a responsible man trying to explain it away! Lord Lytton is quite correct in saying that if India became fully self-governing *and stayed within the Empire* she would certainly be a Dominion, but the substitution of one distant goal for another is not what they want. They want immediate power, and if the Viceroy's announcement did not mean both a great accession of power and rapid acceleration of its bestowal, then clearer definition of the distant goal was of no interest to them at all. That being so, Lord Lytton's contention that the Viceroy's statement could cause no embarrassment to Sir John Simon and his colleagues is not sustainable. Lord Lytton writes:

The statement had no bearing on the subject-matter of Sir John Simon's inquiry. It defines somewhat more explicitly than has hitherto been done the goal of that policy which had been foreshadowed in 1917

and embodied in the Act of 1919. The Simon Commission is not required to state what that policy was: it is asked to express its opinion as to whether, in the light of ten years' experience, that policy was wise or unwise—if unwise, how it should be altered; if wise, how it should be developed.

That is a very accurate description of the Commission's task, but if the Commission came to the conclusion that the policy had been unwise, and recommended its modification, how could Lord Lytton then conclude that the announcement will have rendered the task of the Commission easier and not harder? Lord Lytton has forgotten that Sir John Simon himself, guarded as he was, said in the House of Commons that the announcement had not made his task easier. The chairman of the Indian Central Committee, as reported in the Press,

freely admitted that Lord Irwin's announcement had affected both the prestige and influence of the Simon Commission and the Indian Central Committee. Indeed, he had already heard it said that their reports might as well be burnt. In any case they would only form one of many pieces of evidence at the London Conference.

Lord Lytton, however, affirms that 'those who say the announcement should not have been made till after the publication of the Commission's Report fail altogether to understand Lord Irwin's object in making it.' The point is not what Lord Irwin's object was, but whether it was likely to have, or has had, the effect that he intended.

Lord Lytton specially commends Mr. Baldwin's speech in the House of Commons as making up for most of the mischief caused by other speakers. That speech, however well intended, will not affect the opinion or action of Indian politicians. The *Janambhumi* of Madras spoke of Mr. Baldwin as 'this ironmonger and merchant,' and stated that Indians did not care a jot what Mr. Baldwin's ideas might or might not be about Dominion status.

It is, however, in the latter portion of the Lord Lytton's article that the statement of his conclusions seem so much in conflict with his general optimism. He gives several reasons, founded on his own experience in Bengal, why the whole scheme of government based on parliamentary models, which is the one favoured by the Indian *intelligentsia*, 'is practically unattainable.'

The Swarajist politician [he writes] professes that it is only with a 'satanic' Government that he will not co-operate. In practice it is not so. He finds it just as difficult to co-operate with his own countrymen. Every Indian claims to speak in the name of India, but there are few subjects on which other Indians will accept his authority. Not even for the sake of India will the Hindu make any concession to the Moslem or the Moslem to the Hindu, the Brahmin to the non-Brahmin or the man of caste to the

outcasts. The Sikh is disowned by the Mahratta, the Madrassi by the Jat; . . . and the Bengali will not co-operate even with himself. This lack of confidence makes all representative machinery unworkable.

We also find him writing 'the Viceroy's statement was at once recognised and welcomed, as both a satisfactory recognition of the Indian national ideal and *as a practical contribution to its attainment.*' This seems somewhat out of accord with the statement that Indians are so torn with internal dissensions, and so mistrustful of one another, that 'representative machinery is unworkable.' There are, it is true, 'Nationalists' in India—namely, people who would like India to be a nation; but there is no true *national* ideal, because there is no true *nation* to support it. Then, again, Lord Lytton writes:

Indian politicians are accustomed in their speeches and writings to represent political crime and hostility as the consequences of repression. Historically the exact opposite is the case. In recent years crime and violence have always followed concessions, and repression has, of course, followed crime.

I entirely agree with Lord Lytton as to the correctness of this sequence of actions and reactions, but the statement requires a small amplification. It is concessions to enemies, and not to loyal friends, that produce these results. Loyalists are invariably overlooked, while concessions to appease opponents is the keynote of our policy. Concessions to noisy opponents are accompanied, as they must be, by the alienation of our friends and supporters. In spite of all these statements, Lord Lytton remains very optimistic. 'If these general features of the situation are remembered,' he writes, 'there has been nothing surprising or disturbing in recent events in India.' There has indeed been nothing surprising to those who know India, but I disagree entirely that there has been nothing disturbing. Further on Lord Lytton writes: 'The strength of the independence movement was put to the test all over India on January 26, and proved a complete frost. The response of the country to the new appeal was shown to be negligible.' Mr. Gandhi's choice of dates for his theatrical shows has not been his strongest point. The time was too short for any organisation, and, as the millions do not know what exactly they were to approve, the response was limited. It is necessary to find specific local grievances on which to move the multitude. Mr. Gandhi is content with small beginnings, from which insidious results will follow. Nevertheless, it was a sorry spectacle for the Union Jack to be trampled in the dust and burnt, and the *Swaraj* flag unfurled, without any apparent protest from the Government or its supporters. Lord Lytton perhaps hardly appreciates the effect on the populace of insults to the honour of the Government, and how it infers from such

insults, when they go unpunished, that this once powerful Government fears to take action. Every Indian, from the highest to the lowest, has his *izzat* or his own proper pride, and the Government cannot afford to have its *izzat* constantly lowered in the eyes of the populace. There is no half-way house in India between standing in awe of a power and holding it in contempt. The passage from one frame of mind to the other may be slow at first, but its momentum increases very rapidly as the process goes on. The cumulative effect of flaunted disobedience of Government may one day prove startling to those who become accustomed to tolerating petty incidents because, for the time being, they seem petty. You cannot afford in the East to pass over virulent abuse which in England may be treated as mere Hyde Park oratory. The mischief is very insidious. The thin crust which covers subterranean forces may crack, and then the eruption of these forces may be violent and widespread.

Lord Lytton has described how the scene is set for the various stages that are to follow upon the Simon Commission's Report. He has explained what bad preparation the various actors are making for a harmonious performance, and he finishes with the pious hope that the piece may yet go well on the night, yet he admits that 'the task which we have set ourselves to accomplish is one which has never yet been accomplished in the history of the world.' 'To ignore the difficulties,' he says, 'to be blind to the facts, is to court failure. To exaggerate the difficulties, to be lacking in faith, is to court despair.' The cleavages between different kinds of Indians over a vast sub-continent are not in the least exaggerated by Lord Lytton—if anything, they are understated; but the difficulty is that it is not Lord Lytton's faith or Lord Irwin's faith that can cause these cleavages to disappear, but only the faith of the Indians of all races, creeds, and castes in one another. It is this that is lacking, and neither we nor any other foreigner can supply the deficiency.

'Most Indians feel to-day,' says Lord Lytton, 'that they would rather see India free than India compulsorily well governed.' It is a nice epigram, but it unfortunately does not represent the facts. This is a slogan of the Indian Press, and the text of the Swarajist oration, to captivate innocent British ears, and to exalt hysterical Indian students. It is Lord Lytton himself who has told us that 'the independence movement proved a complete frost.'

REGINALD CRADDOCK.

THE COTTON TRADE

The difficulties of the cotton trade are so loudly lamented, and so little understood, that one must try to see them in proper perspective before suggesting or applying any remedy. At present it is suffering from diseases which proceed from two different causes—one of them of the well-known temporary and periodic type, and the other a permanent and new kind of trouble which requires a new remedy.

The temporary cause of its troubles is one to which this trade has been liable at all times. As a rule in pre-war days the annual consumption of cotton goods was reckoned to rise at a pretty steady average rate of 2½ per cent. per annum. Consumption used periodically to get ahead of production, with a consequent rise in prices and better profits. The good dividends paid by cotton companies brought about the immediate building of cotton mills. As a result the increased production got well ahead of consumption. A period of depression set in which lasted until consumption again caught up the productive capacity of the world. The reactions both ways were brief, and on the average worked out satisfactorily to those concerned. In other respects bad times in the cotton trade were much the same as bad times in any other trade. They followed the rise and fall in raw materials. When raw materials were falling in price there were losses. Our purchases were always made in gold and our sales to a large extent in silver. Therefore very large crops of cotton which brought prices down meant a lowering of the price of our product, a loss on all stocks of cotton goods wherever held, and a temporary depression. The resultant low prices brought about an acceleration in demand and a rapid adjustment. The size of the crops of cotton was of small importance compared with the effect of a monetary crisis in lowering the price of raw materials; but, whatever the cause, deflation had an equally bad effect on the trade. One has only to study the course of business for the past twenty-five years and note the periods of prosperity and the reverse to realise this.

A particularly interesting incident occurred in 1907. In the latter part of that year there was a very serious American slump

comparable to the one which took place in 1929. My recollection of the result is still pretty vivid. Exchange in Shanghai dropped from 3*s.* to the tael to 2*s.* 4*d.* to the tael between October 31, 1907, and December 31. Raw cotton prices had an equally severe fall: 1908 was a sad year of liquidation.

Taking it all round, it is not very difficult to distinguish the temporary troubles from the permanent by a study of the past: 1903–1907 were years of growing prosperity and rising prices in this trade; 1908 a year of adjustment owing to that prosperity having over-reached itself; 1909–1913, again, years of growing prosperity and rising prices. In 1914 there were people in the cotton trade who realised that something was going to break. The war brought a new element into operation, but those who were looking for trouble were hardly prepared for the grim aspect that trouble took.

One need hardly refer to the 1919–1920 boom and slump, which showed all the usual features in an extreme form. There was a revival from 1922 to 1924. Following this, there has again been a period of continually falling prices for all commodities, and gradually, and bit by bit, raw materials have fallen to a very low price. The effect is that, on the average, any merchant business carried on during these years has meant a loss for someone. Suppose prices have fallen 20 per cent. in these five years and a transaction in cotton goods from the raw materials to the wearer takes on the average six months to complete. This is probably an underestimate. In these ten periods of six months there has been an average loss of 2 per cent. on every transaction to someone. Of course the loss is not a perfectly regular one. During the period there have been temporary rises and falls, but in the end this is how it works out. In the modern history of the cotton trade one must go back to the eighties of the last century to find a similar length of time over which depression has been spread.

The culminating point has been reached with the late crisis in America. The boom in America did our trade but little good, whereas we are now suffering from the full devastating effects of its slump on commodity prices. There is a bottom to everything. One concludes prices cannot go down for ever. A change in the direction of commodity prices would bring our cotton trade out of the purely periodic difficulties due to the operation of the trade cycle.

In emphasising this part of the problem it has been my object to bring home the point that, even under conditions that ruled during the peak of our production, these past few years would have been a time of suffering and depression. Let it be granted, then, that the present is a time of unnatural depression arising

from causes which it is outside the power of the cotton trade to control. But suppose that cotton, silver, and all the other commodities affecting the trade get on an even keel again or show a steady average rise all round. What further problems are there to solve before cotton can become the useful commodity it was to the country in pre-war days?

The contrast between the cotton trade then and now may be expressed in the yardage of our total exports in the two periods. In the years 1911–1912 it was in the region of 7,000,000,000 yards; during the period 1927–1929 rather under 4,000,000,000 yards. Then the yearly quantity before the war was rising, and now it is falling. At the same time the total world export trade in cotton goods is not very far off the total quantity in the pre-war years, but other nations have acquired what we have lost. There is still a steady rise in the annual consumption of cotton goods throughout the world, though this does not appear to be so rapid as in the former period.

The division of the cotton trade into horizontal sections almost wholly isolated from one another is a phenomenon which is familiar to all students of the industry, as is also the intense individualism of the Lancashire industrialist. On the producing side, so far as spinning and weaving are concerned, labour is, generally speaking, as horizontally divided as capital. In fact, all sections of the cotton trade are a series of parallel lines that never meet except to exchange pleasant lunches and dinners. Each section usually ascribes its woes to all the others. There are, however, some notable exceptions to this principle, and a Joint Committee of Cotton Trade Organisations has been set up which has been of great value in putting the true perspective before everyone in the trade. Moreover, in certain branches of the finishing trades there is pretty close contact between employers and employees. But, with these exceptions, most sections only meet in a business way when they have something to complain about!

The most important horizontal divisions are:

(1) The spinning mills, about 800 in number.
(2) The combined spinning and weaving mills, about 600.
(3) The weaving sheds, about 800.
(4) The finishers.
(5) The merchants, about 3000.

There are about 55,000,000 spindles and 750,000 looms. This is sufficient under good management and at full pressure to turn out the pre-war volume of goods. There are at present about 75 per cent. of them at work turning out the two-thirds of that pre-war quantity now required.

There are two distinct divisions on the spinners' side—those

who spin the best cotton, chiefly Egyptian, and the rest. The Egyptian spindles are about 18,000,000 in all. These may be dismissed in a few words. They are almost all mills of the most modern construction and kept up to the pitch of perfection. Their product has few, if any, rivals in the world. They are led by the Fine Spinners' and Doublers' Association, a sound, well-financed and well-run company with some 5,000,000 spindles. There are also the newly formed Combined Egyptian Mills with 3,500,000 spindles, and Cross and Winkworth with 2,000,000. Generally speaking, the troubles which the Egyptian spinning mills suffer from are caused by over-capitalisation in some cases, poor financial arrangements in others, and above all by the temporary phase of universal bad trade now prevalent. Great improvements could be effected by closer working arrangements between the mills to avoid the evil effects of over-production. Technically the position of the mills is sound enough, though one would like to see rather more unity of action in many directions. When trade generally improves it will probably be found that any real distress now existing in this portion of the spinning trade will pass away—assuming, of course, that the efforts at present being made by these mills to put their house in order financially will be successful.

After omitting a large number of spindles used for doubling and special trades, one may assume there are between 25,000,000 and 30,000,000 spindles available for the lower qualities of cotton goods. These spindles are generally referred to as the American section, because they largely spin American cotton, though Indian and other cottons are also used. It is hardly possible to imagine any trade nearer bankruptcy than this. There are mills, here and there, still capable of paying dividends, but the vast majority are mortgaged up to the hilt and still losing money. There is a great deal of demand for their products, but only enough to fill a proportion of the spindles. Consequently there is a desperate scramble for every pound of yarn on offer. The only standard of price considered by the millowners is whether it is cheaper to run the mill with the order or to shut it up. Actually the business goes in almost all cases to the mill which will accept the greatest loss. One might imagine that the result would be cheap prices for yarns, and in a measure this is true. Unfortunately it is not so true as it was, owing to the steady loss of efficiency. Costs are definitely becoming dearer because the mills are no longer kept at that pitch of perfection of which Lancashire was so proud.

There is still great controversy in Lancashire as to why this state of affairs exists in the American section of the spinning trade. Some say that the mills are all right, and that when the

temporary phase of bad trade is over all will be well. This is no longer a very popular view. Others say that the selfish policy of the finishing combines and the incapacity of the merchants has been the great contributory cause. The same people are inclined to blame the banks for lending them money and demanding interest on their loans. These reasons are very popular amongst spinners. Many other reasons may also be given. The enormous inflation of capital during the boom period of 1919–1920, the heavy burdens left on the mills, and the insufficient working capital are blamed for the present depression because they have crippled the ability of mills to keep their repairs and renewals up to date. Meanwhile, our competitors have successfully substituted yarns made of Indian and other cheaper cottons for our superior but dearer goods made of American cotton. As our spinning mills are not laid out efficiently to make use of this cheaper raw material we have been left behind.

Whatever the cause may be, the first great problem of the cotton trade lies with the spinning mills. They are the foundation on which the cotton trade is built. Until they are on a sound basis and can produce yarns in competition with the world no other effort will be successful. The loss of our trade has been mostly in goods made of lower grade yarns. We must be able to manufacture these yarns at a price which can compete with the rest of the world before any recovery can take place. The one effort to attempt this seriously is being made by the Lancashire Cotton Corporation, which is struggling hard to combat the innate conservatism and sturdy individualism of the Lancashire manufacturer. The promoters believe that it is possible to compete with the world if the effort is set about in a scientific and orderly way. They have advertised their intentions pretty widely, and few students of industrial matters can have avoided hearing of them.

The problems of the weaving trade are of a somewhat different nature. The weavers, or manufacturers as they are called, have begun to suffer from the use of automatic looms by their competitors. Here they have to meet a very perplexing problem. It is cheaper to weave on ordinary Lancashire looms than on automatic looms if forty-eight hours a week is the utmost time during which the automatic loom can be used. On the other hand, it is much cheaper to use automatic looms if they are worked in two shifts or ninety-six hours a week. The trade unions working for the amenities of those whose interests they look after have set their faces against two shifts and have won their point. Generally the result is very poor wages for the workers on ordinary Lancashire looms. We are back to the early struggles of the hand loom against the power loom, except that the struggle is now

between the power loom and the automatic, with the trade unions far more powerful—indeed, one might say the arbiters in the struggle. One may divide the weavers into two lots—those who weave the staple cloths for the millions and those who use specialised skill for weaving difficult cloths. The latter are not too badly off even under present conditions, but the condition of the former is not much better than that of the cotton spinners. The old firms which produced the bulk of the cloths destined for the East, the Hornbys and Calverts and the rest, have gone, owing to the loss of their trade to Japan. The new mass production cloths have not yet been found. This will be the second effort that the Lancashire Cotton Corporation has got to make, unless some separate combination of weavers is formed to devote their attention to the task.

The finishers, the dyers, bleachers and printers, have long ago formed themselves into federations surrounding great central combines. They have devoted their attention to price fixing in order to enable them to show moderate profits under any state of trade. To them the slipping away of the lower class trade in mass production goods is beginning to be felt as a calamity. It is becoming more and more difficult for them to make their prices cover the losses they suffer in keeping a proportion of their works stopped. They have hitherto held aloof from all other branches of the trade and devoted themselves entirely to perfecting the technical side of their own special branch of the trade. This attitude is beginning to become impossible, as the consequences of the lack of trade are becoming serious.

Finally we come to the merchants. There, again, it is impossible to give instances of any definite failure to perform their function. If any such failure is imputed to them, they say, with much truth, that no one, however organised, can sell goods if the price is not right. Yet there is a distinct feeling among many merchants that there is a lack of progress in the mercantile science of selling: however, it is exceedingly difficult to place one's finger on the spot.

Considering the cotton trade either as a whole or in detail, it must be remembered that the methods employed were successful while the industry was growing—indeed, right up to the war. Even at that time keen observers were beginning to be aware that there were ominous signs of difficulties ahead. Competition was beginning to show itself here and there, though in no case were the symptoms sufficiently serious to call for more than passing notice. All the other exporting countries of the world together only accounted for 15 per cent. of the world's export trade, while Lancashire supplied 85 per cent. Now the other exporting countries of the world have captured half of the

trade, leaving Lancashire only half. There are certain external hindrances to the expansion of the export trade which will persist, against which no action we can take will be of much avail. Many countries have erected their own cotton mills, and behind the shelter of enormous tariff barriers are endeavouring to build up an industry which will, at least, supply their own wants. On the other hand, the total export trade of the world in cotton goods is nearly equal to the pre-war volume, and appears to be growing. This trade will go to the most efficient producer; or perhaps it might be better to say to the producer who will provide what is wanted at the cheapest price. In many parts of the world we are still the most favoured suppliers, and one usually finds that this is the case where quality and originality of design are of more importance than cheapness. Where we have lost the greatest proportion of the trade is in those countries where a durable, hard-wearing cloth is more important to the poorest people. They would, no doubt, prefer the better looking, better quality cloths, but these people live so near the margin of starvation that utility is all that matters. Until very recently Lancashire used to supply this class of cloth. She has now been challenged by the genius of that other island race, the Japanese, who by sheer efficiency, hard thinking, and hard work have adapted to the use of these races with a low standard of living raw material which we either would not or could not use.

It would be a mistake to delude ourselves into the belief that foreign countries owe their competitive power only to the lower standard of living under which they are content to work. It helps in the initial stages, but in the end you get the standard of efficiency you pay for. A very large proportion of the cloths which have cut us out of our largest markets are made of cheaper grades of cotton than we are accustomed to handle in Great Britain. It requires greater efficiency to turn these into presentable cloths than is the case with superior raw material. Where we are beaten in competition, and find that, on analysis, our competitors are using cotton equal to our own, we can afford to smile, because this trade usually returns to us. Where we find ourselves beaten by 10 per cent. in price by an article which appears as good as our own, and find that, on analysis, this result has been produced with a cheaper raw material, then we cannot afford to ignore it; we are confronted with an efficiency greater than our own. This occurs too often and too regularly to be accidental, and we must reluctantly come to the conclusion that other people besides ourselves can produce efficiently. It was our custom to supply goods to the poorer countries which consisted half of cloth and half of flour, beautiful in appearance and thoroughly appreciated by those who could not afford a cloth

made all of cotton. Much of this trade has gone to the countries which produce a much worse-looking article made of inferior cotton, but all cotton and just as cheap, weight for weight, as the cloths we used to supply. Gradually the appearance of these cloths has been improved as technical efficiency has grown, and gradually our old cloths have been driven from the Eastern markets wherever price and value are the supreme test of the marketability of an article and the appearance only secondary.

The answer to this is that Lancashire, with her long tradition of skill and her undoubted genius in the field of production, had better set to work and alter her ways so as to out-rival her rivals. All she wants is to adapt her machinery and methods to what the world now requires, as once she did in order to supply what the world then wanted. No one doubts that she has that ability and adaptability, and one may well wonder why she does not use them. Perhaps the explanation may have become clear from the account of the cotton trade given earlier in this article. It is well to remember, also, that we have trade unions whose only concern is the retention of hard-won privileges, and who feel their only business is to resist any change of any kind, lest it may weaken their hold on these privileges. The last thing they consider is that the state of world trade in cotton goods is any business of theirs.

We have a spinning trade in the last gasp of poverty, which sticks to its spinning and would laugh at you if you suggested they could not use short-staple cotton. Spinners will tell you they have used it for years. Nevertheless, they have no money to carry out the extensive alterations necessary in their mills if they are to use it efficiently. Weavers cannot weave with automatic looms as it interferes with cherished trade union principles. They have not the yarns necessary, because they are not made here. The finishers hold themselves aloof from the other producing sections and from the merchants. The merchants cannot sell the low-grade staples, because they cannot buy them at a price competitive with the rest of the world, and *ipso facto* confine themselves to the sale of more specialised goods. The loss of turnover interferes with their power of expansion and enterprise, and causes them to cut down their staffs in order to prevent themselves being overwhelmed by their overhead charges.

Until the Joint Committee of Cotton Trade Organisations became active three years ago there was no real point of contact between the various sections of the trade. During the period of its activity there have been many signs of an increasing desire for co-operation. In so individualistic a community a voluntary organisation such as this has to proceed with extreme caution, as it has to carry everyone with it, and every public decision has

to be more or less unanimous. There was a body of spinners formed called the Cotton Yarn Association which endeavoured by voluntary and co-operative efforts to help to pull the spinning trade round. This functioned for some years, and eventually found itself defeated by the impossibility of getting the Lancashire spinners to work together except under compulsion. The promoters of the Cotton Yarn Assocation did not give up in despair when they saw their voluntary effort brought to nought. They began to devise plans for bringing spinning mills together on a basis of amalgamation. This required for its success some outside stimulus and some guarantee of fresh money in order to get the new company started. This was found, owing to the interest taken in the idea by the Governor of the Bank of England and the keen assistance and loyal backing of certain of the local Manchester banks—an interesting example of the value of local knowledge possessed by local boards of bank directors to an industry when some unusual remedy is required for an unusual situation. Though it is difficult to stimulate any real interest among bank directors to whom a special trade is something they only know by hearsay, it is certainly somewhat easier, if this trade touches them hourly and daily in their own persons, or in the persons with whom they are constantly in contact.

Aided by this backing, the Lancashire Cotton Corporation is trying to introduce into the cotton trade a spirit of rationalisation. Its first task is the acquisition of the necessary raw materials of the right kind in the most economical possible manner. Next, a combination of cotton spinning mills must be acquired at such a price and in such a manner as to have a considerable influence on the trade, especially on the American cotton side. Time and money are also necessary to reorganise the mills to meet modern conditions. In the opinion of the promoters the essential principle is that there must be no fixed charges to pay in acquiring the mills. The method is simple, though the application is complicated.

It is intended to begin with 10,000,000 spindles out of the 25,000,000 to 30,000,000 available in the American section. During 1929 some 7,000,000 spindles were brought in, and it is expected that the figure of 10,000,000 will be attained during 1930. This will have a very marked controlling effect on the American section of the trade. An endeavour is being made to organise the management on modern lines. This might perhaps be taken for granted, but modern methods are not very common in the cotton trade, and they rather shock Lancashire. A good many alterations will be made in the mills in order to adapt them to the use of lower grades of cotton, such as are used extensively in Japan and on the Continent. Standardising of yarns

and economies of various kinds will be, and in fact are already being, introduced.

Many criticisms of the corporation policy are generally made one is that there are not enough spindles to control the spinning trade. Probably, however, the concentration of so large a portion of the trade in one hand will enable the corporation to exert a control quite out of proportion to its size, as its competitors will control only a few hundred thousand spindles each at the outside. From the point of view of actual size 10,000,000 spindles is considerable—about as many as any other country possesses with the exception of America. If this number can be handled effectively there is no doubt that there will be additions.

Obviously the first task of the Lancashire Cotton Corporation will be to produce yarn as cheaply as its foreign competitors. This is believed to be quite possible when really thorough organisation has been introduced and the purchase of the right types of raw material by experts is combined with the use of the right machinery. However, this will not put the goods into the hands of the customers, and many more stages are required. Weaving is also being undertaken by the Lancashire Cotton Corporation which expects to acquire some 30,000 looms. There are an almost infinite number of problems waiting to be solved in weaving: the use of Lancashire looms *versus* automatic looms, the problems of how the necessary arrangements can be made with the weavers' unions, and so on. The equally difficult question of standardising cloths is also very important. It is to be hoped that some weavers' combine will come into existence to solve these problems. At present, with a few exceptions, every 500 looms constitute a different company. There are about 1400 companies owning looms, and they own between them 750,000. This is a hopeless position from the point of view of research. If no special weavers' combine can be formed, the Lancashire Cotton Corporation will have to deal with this problem also.

It is improbable that either finishing or merchanting will cause serious difficulties to the Lancashire Cotton Corporation. Combines on a large scale already exist in the finishing trades. It is true that there are very strict price-fixing arrangements in existence, and that the finishers have held themselves aloof from the rest of the trade in the past. This attitude is not likely to last when they have combines of equal size and strength with whom to enter into direct relations. It is rather difficult for a combine covering a whole section of a trade to enter into relations of any sort with 3000 different merchants, 1400 different weavers (including combined spinning and weaving companies), and 140 different spinners (also including combined firms). With merchants relations should not be difficult. They must be worked

out carefully, but it is too early to prophesy what course such relations will follow.

The real fact is that the Lancashire Cotton Corporation will find much of its work made easy for it if it can, as it is confident that it can, produce yarns and cloth cheaper than is possible under the present system. Its task will be quite simple if it can show that its prices for grey cloth in Manchester will compete with Japanese prices in Osaka.

K. D. Stewart.

SLUM CLEARANCE

A Reply

Mr. E. D. Simon, in his interesting article in the last number of *The Nineteenth Century*, gives it as his opinion that the really difficult task which confronts the nation to-day in connexion with slum clearance is the building of good houses into which can be moved the people who are at present living in those slums. And he advocates, once again, more subsidies, and to a specially selected and favoured class of slum-dwellers—those with families. Mr. Simon is, in the first place, strangely oblivious of the effect of subsidies on building prices and the attainment of the much to be commended object of obtaining houses at lower rents; and, in the second place, he apparently holds the firm opinion that present housing prices are reasonable and cannot be reduced. In order, therefore, to attain new houses at reasonable rents for the poorer paid members of the community, he returns once again to subsidies, and he selects out of such poorer paid workers a special class to receive such aid. The people who remain in the slums are not to receive further State help, but those who are fortunate enough to get into the new houses are to receive it if they have families, but not otherwise. It is not surprising that this project up to the present has not received the support of either Mr. Simon's own party or of any other party in the State. The history of the subsidies to the building trade and their effect on building prices in this country is an interesting one, and its lesson is plain. It is of great moment because of our need, not only for the production of more new houses, but, what is more important still, houses at a rent which the poorer members of the community are able to pay. That is, indeed, the most urgent housing matter at the present time in this country. It is in this all-important respect that the Wheatley Act, with its provision of larger subsidies, has been such a complete failure. What has been the course of the Housing subsidy and its effect on prices? In 1921, when the Addison Act was in operation, the average price of a non-parlour house was 665*l*. In July the scheme was closed down, and the price immediately began to fall, until in

December 1922 it reached 346*l*. In 1923 the Chamberlain Act was introduced, which on a different economical basis reintroduced the subsidy, and immediately the price went up. The subsidy under the Chamberlain scheme was equivalent to a capital sum of about 75*l*. per house. In January 1924 the price had gone up by 40*l*., and the average price of the non-parlour house had gone up to 386*l*. The next stage is equally interesting and significant. Under the Wheatley Act the subsidy was increased to 160*l*., and the price immediately went up again; and by October it was 451*l*. a house, and it remained at that figure until December 1926. Whenever the subsidy was increased the price of houses rose. Mr. Chamberlain then decided to reduce the subsidy in the belief that the amount of the subsidy was a vital and important factor in fixing the price. It is an interesting fact to record that when the actual announcement to reduce the subsidy was made, although, in fact, it was not actually reduced until the October following, prices again began to fall until they dropped to 339*l*. In fact, since the change in the subsidy, the price dropped by no less than 112*l*. a house. Is not the lesson plain? And is it not confirmed by subsequent events?

Mr. Greenwood became Minister of Health, and he reversed the policy of his predecessor in reducing the subsidy from October last under the Wheatley Act from 7*l*. 10*s*. to 6*l*., and in agricultural districts from 11*l*. to 9*l*. 10*s*. But it should also be recorded that he took the responsibility of refusing to interfere with the Order that abolished altogether the subsidy under the Chamberlain Act of 1923. The present subsidy therefore continues to be paid in accordance with the 1924 Housing Act, and the relation between the number of new houses built in this country and their price should once more be noted by the social observer. The number of State-assisted houses which had been authorised in England and Wales during October, November, and December 1928 was 25,305; for the same months in 1929 the figure had fallen to 19,824. So far as price is concerned, the Greenwood policy has stopped the hitherto continuous fall, and we find that whereas in December 1928 the price of the non-parlour house was 338*l*., in December 1929 the figure was 370*l*. There may have been special factors affecting prices in that month, but it can be confidently said that the fall in the price of houses had been definitely checked. There is only one other set of figures which is material in view of the intimate connexion much stressed in Labour circles between the housing subsidy and unemployment in the building trades. In January 1930 there were 149,403 insured persons classified as belonging to the building industry and recorded as unemployed in Great Britain.

So much for the subsidy and new housing; but, apart from

that question, can we accept the contention, expressed or implied, that, even under present conditions and the present Government policy, housing prices are fair and reasonable and cannot be reduced ?

The average price of non-parlour houses included in contracts passed by, or in the direct-labour schemes of, local authorities in England and Wales during the year 1929 was 344*l*. But there are many instances of variations in cost. The average price per house in Huddersfield (795 square feet) was 414*l*.; in Wolverton (768 square feet), 400*l*.; whilst in Carlisle, with an average area of 647 square feet per house, it was 281*l*., and in Whitwood (725 square feet per house), 306*l*.

The attention of the housing reformer in this connexion can usefully be directed to a recent statement publicly made by a man who has had great practical experience, and who has made a considerable contribution himself to solving our housing problem. Sir J. Tudor Walter, M.P., in an address last month on housing, said that he did not believe in any form of State subsidy; that the cost of building was still ridiculously high; that he was building at 300*l*., and that even that was too much. 'The non-parlour house of the three-bedroom type ought not to cost, under proper organisation of materials and workmanship, more than 260*l*. to 265*l*. a house. If you reckon that out, you could get a 6*s*. a week basis for your rent.'

All these facts should be before us in considering the next great advance in connexion with slum clearance. This problem may be pronounced sufficiently urgent and vital without in any way belittling the great housing effort that has already been made in this country. The State, local authorities, and private enterprise have been undeniably right in concentrating first, since the Armistice, on the erection of new houses. In the erecting of some 1,500,000 houses a record has been achieved which has certainly not been exceeded by any other country, and the standards of accommodation have been high. We often hear of what, for instance, has been achieved in Vienna; but conditions in this country and Vienna are not comparable, and the standards of accommodation fall considerably below those considered necessary in this country. About 75 per cent. of the tenements there consist of a kitchen and one room and have an area of from 400 to 450 square feet, and the rents are based only on maintenance costs and take no account of capital charges. No country has made such a contribution to its housing problem as Great Britain. The total sum paid on account of Exchequer subsidy alone since the Armistice has been over 82,000,000*l*., and our present annual liability is nearly 11,000,000*l*. The great mass of the people of this country will not grudge any further

sums which may be necessary for a properly planned and economic system of slum clearance, but they will expect the lessons of the past to be studied, and demand that the experience we have gained, often at great cost, shall not be ignored in the next step we take to clear the slum.

KINGSLEY WOOD.

SEVENTY YEARS OF ENGLISH CORN-GROWING[1]

ENGLISH corn-growing has a glorious, if chequered, past; it has a gloomy present. I leave its uncertain future to those who have the gift of political prophecy. I begin with the past and start from September 1857. I choose that date, not because it was the year of a great panic in the City, and of the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny, but because it was the date when I received one of the most vivid impressions of my early childhood. The scene was the lower slope of Arreton Down, in the Isle of Wight. There I saw four teams of oxen ploughing, and the sight fascinated me. I can see them still, those massive tawny beasts coming and going with their slow, deliberate pace, and ever, as they went and came, the upturned furrows, glistening in the sunshine, multiplied. Plough-oxen must have already become rare, or they would not have arrested the imagination of a child. So long as plough-shares were made of wood and traces of twisted wythies, their steady pull gave them a practical advantage over horses. Now they were supplanted by the speedier animal. They had become survivals from a leisurely age, mediæval and even Biblical, when, except during the feverish rush of harvest, speed had little value and time was not yet reckoned as money. Two years afterwards I was taken to see the first steam-plough—they were, I think, invented in 1857—that was brought into the neighbourhood. Sixty years later, the Board of Agriculture, of which I was then President, placed 4000 tractors on the land of England and Wales, and the advertisement which they received during the last two or three years of the Great War gave them an immediate place in the work of the farm. From the ox to the tractor is a vast advance which illustrates the general speeding-up of farming that characterises the last seventy years of agriculture.

In 1857 manual labour was all-important. Machinery was little employed. Even turnip-slicers and chaff-cutters had not displaced the chopper. Wheat or roots were generally sown by drills, either owned or hired. But many crops were still sown by

[1] The following pages form the substance of an address given to the Agricultural School at Cambridge on March 7, 1930.

hand broadcast. When the grain crops were ripe for harvest they were reaped by hand, either with the sickle or with the scythe. The sickle takes us back to the harvest fields of Boaz, and Ruth gleaning behind the reapers. No other implement was possible where surface drainage threw arable land into the high ridges and deep furrows which survive in some of our pastures, suggesting by their sinuous curves the difficulty of turning the long and cumbrous ploughs. But the great development of scientific drainage in the 'forties enabled the land to be laid flat and prepared the way for speedier means of harvesting. In 1857 the scythe was fast supplanting the sickle. It has in turn given way to the reaper and binder, which successive improvements have perfected since binder twine was first used in 1877. The grain itself was prepared for market by hand labour. The threshing machine has long since displaced the threshing floor and the flail (familiar to my childhood), the hand-turned winnowing wheel, with the sacking tied to the spokes, and the casting shovel which separated the heavy from the light grain. It was the variety and intricacy of these and similar manual operations, and the lower rates of wages, which enabled farmers of those days to employ on the land more than double the present number of agricultural workers.

The 'sixties were probably the Golden Age of English corn-growing. Landlords lavished money on buildings, drainage or equipment. Tenants farmed high, knowing that those who lather can shave. The best farming then fully equalled that of to-day. Our advance lies in the increased command of new resources and the higher general average. In spite of forebodings caused by the abolition of the Corn Laws, prices were still remunerative. In 1861, out of a population in England and Wales of more than 20,000,000, less than 4,000,000 had been fed from foreign wheat. In 1929–30 it is probable that not more than 3,000,000 quarters of English wheat will find their way into the bread-stuff of the English people. That is the effect on corn-growing of seventy years of change.

If old statistics are reliable, wages rose considerably between 1820 and 1870. But the ordinary conditions of agricultural employment leave workers comparatively powerless to help themselves. Immobile and isolated, commanding no capital beyond their labour, depending on their employers for both home and wages, they found it difficult to combine, and, without combination, to make their demands effective. An important date in their upward climb is February 7, 1872. On that dark, wintry evening, a thousand men gathered at Wellesbourne, in Warwickshire, to listen to one of themselves, noted for miles round as a skilled hedge-cutter and local preacher. He was Joseph Arch.

Mounted on a pig-stool set under a chestnut tree, he looked down on a sea of upturned faces, over which flickered the uncertain gleams shed by lanterns swinging from bean poles. Steeped in the imagery and phraseology of the Bible, his mind likened the audience to 'the Children of Israel, with darkness all around them, waiting for someone to lead them out of the land of Egypt.' The outcome of the meeting was the formation of a union and a demand for *2s. 8d.* a day: hours 6 to 5—on Saturdays 6 to 3—and *4d.* an hour overtime. Though the union eventually broke up, it secured the franchise for agricultural workers.

Up to 1875 English corn-growing prospered. Then came twenty-five years of falling prices, marked by two periods of widespread distress. The second, in 1891–99, was the most disastrous. In the first period pasture farming comparatively escaped, and arable farmers bore the brunt. Now 'up horn, down corn' proved no longer true; both were down together. The distress in agricultural districts was general as well as acute. The first period of depression found farmers with money in their pockets and their land in high condition. In the second, their pockets were empty and their land impoverished. The industry was in the main kept on its feet by the expenditure of landlords. Multitudes of agricultural workers were thrown out of employment, and many counties suffered severely.

The prolonged, and at times acute, depression of 1875–1899 left lasting effects. In the first place, it scared capital away from agricultural land. Within the period was exhibited to the full the revolution in the conception of prices which the abolition of the Corn Laws entailed. In the fifteenth century the ideal of prices was founded on abstract morality. It was a just price—just as between producers, consumers and the nation—and was based on ecclesiastical denunciations of covetousness and greed and the Canon Law condemnation of usury. The principle was embodied in Corn Laws, and administered by local machinery, of which the most interesting feature was the Assize of Bread, only abolished in the year before the accession of Queen Victoria. After the Napoleonic Wars, instead of a just price, agriculturists demanded a fair price—in other words, a price which would leave a reasonable margin of profit to the producer and encourage the maintenance of arable farming. On that principle the Corn Laws were reconstructed after 1815. When, thirty years later, they were abolished, consumers' prices, fixed by competition with the whole world, displaced the older just or fair prices. Previous conditions had been reversed. Consumers now outnumbered those who were also producers by ten to one, and alternative and cheaper supplies of corn were provided. The cheapest offers naturally came from virgin soils. Our old lands could not com-

ete. At the close of the nineteenth century consumers were fed nore cheaply than they had ever been fed before, or, without ome miracle of science, can ever be again. Only gradually, as osts of production rose abroad, did English corn-growers again ave a chance. But the lesson was learned. The experience ermanently checked the influx of capital.

Another effect was to make leases for terms of years unopular. Farmers dreaded taking land for fixed periods at rents alculated on existing prices, which, ten years later, might have allen. The result has been that in England long leases have been lmost universally displaced by year-to-year tenancies.

A third effect was that the conversion of tillage to grass and he development of pasture farming, dairying and stock-breeding eceived a stimulus. The first period of the depression of the last wenty-five years of the nineteenth century hit corn harder than ivestock. Imports of foreign diseases were more formidable han those of foreign meat, and the rinderpest, or cattle plague, of 866 was a national disaster. With less to fear from foreign ompetition, farmers turned to livestock and its products and the mprovement of cattle, sheep, and pigs. Most of the great breed ocieties began their flock or herd books in the 'seventies.

A fourth effect was that farmers became more ready to welome the help of science. Up to this time their attitude towards cience resembled that of Joseph's brethren towards Joseph himelf. They looked upon men of science as dreamers; they disiked their town clothes; they suspected that they could neither lough nor milk. Consequently, when these dreamers offered elp, the farmers, metaphorically, stripped them of their gayoloured clothes and threw them into a pit. In their disaster heir attitude changed. Machinery found ready purchasers; nd new fertilising agencies, with their portability, their varied ange of application, their adaptability to different soils, claimed larger place on English farms. Nor did the achievements of nechanical and chemical science stand alone. Science helped in very direction, and with its aid farming crept slowly out of the byss of misfortune, and, with a steadily decreasing arable area, ontinued its progress up to 1914.

During the first two and a half years of the Great War the Government relied upon British, Allied, and neutral shipping to ring to this country, in normal quantities, imports of human ood, fertilisers, and concentrated feeding-stuffs. But the loss f shipping through the activity of submarines during the last hree months of 1916 forced the new Government, which came into ffice in December, to attempt the restoration of the energies of English agriculture. There was, indeed, little choice. It was nnounced that on February 1, 1917, the unlimited U-boat

campaign for the destruction of transport would begin. Germany risked the inevitable result of bringing America into the war. But she hoped so to cripple the carrying trade of the world that the Allies would be unable to continue the war and the United Kingdom starved into surrender. The blow was well timed. Harvests in 1916, here and among the Allies, had been poor. In this country there was not more than ten weeks' supply of wheat. The season was so advanced that neither we nor the Allies could make any substantial addition to the production of home-grown food before the harvest of 1918. Moreover, German statesmen were convinced, and openly proclaimed, that English farming had long been too decadent to struggle. The U-boat campaign might seem a desperate gamble, but it came within measurable distance of success. The destruction of shipping shot upwards with alarming rapidity. In the one month of April 1917 the destruction of gross tonnage was greater than for the whole year 1915. The aggregate loss of gross tonnage for 1917 amounted to 3,660,000 tons for Great Britain alone, and for the world exceeded 6,000,000 tons. Though demands on transport for military service rose rapidly every week, destruction outstripped construction. Gradually, the defence overcame the attack, but it was not until July 1918 that the corner of safety was turned and that we built more rapidly than we lost.

December 1916 found agriculture in a deplorable position. Lord Oxford in his *Recollections* prints a report to the Cabinet on farming conditions in the autumn of the year 1916. Gloomy as the picture was, its gloom was only intensified three months later. It was fast becoming a question whether agriculture was pulling its weight in the national effort. If it once sank into the class of non-essential industries, there would be no reason for protecting any of its skilled workers from military service. Agriculture had already lost over one-third of its men; even those who remained were subject to paramount military necessities. Ploughmen were scarce; half the 500 steam-tackle sets were for various reasons out of action; many farm horses had been commandeered, others were unshod; large districts were stripped of such essential handicraftsmen as blacksmiths. Fertilisers were short; potash, mainly drawn from the deposits at Stassfurt, was cut off: drastic reductions in transport facilities restricted the supply of superphosphates for agricultural purposes; many lime-kilns and grinding machines for basic slag were idle because unmanned. Discouraged by the loss of 30,000 of their men in January 1917, and uncertain how many they would keep, farmers were dispirited by the poor wheat crop of 1916 and by the failure of their potatoes. With labour short, fertilisers scarce, the normal channels of supply of agricultural requisites blocked, it seemed

inevitable that there should be a severe shrinkage in the supply of home-grown food. The area of winter-sown wheat in 1916, as compared with 1915, had already diminished by 63,000 acres, and the shrinkage foreboded a large diminution of arable cultivation in the months to follow.

In spite of these unfavourable conditions, British agriculture was called upon to feed its own population. It had not done so for nearly a century. The Board of Agriculture was charged with the duty of providing subsistence diet for the inhabitants of the country. What was needed was the largest possible output of essential human food in the shortest possible time. Arable land feeds five times as many persons as pasture. The plough policy was thus dictated by necessity. The destruction of the world's carrying trade threatened our imports of corn and of fertilisers; therefore an additional breadth of corn must be cultivated at home, and the stored-up fertility of grass must be used to replace artificial manures.

The Board itself was not equipped for such a task. In peace its energies are mainly absorbed in administrative details. The President, therefore, created a new department under the Board for the special purpose of food production. Its object was partly to serve as a clearing-house for the collection and distribution of labour, machinery, implements, seeds, fertilisers, feeding-stuffs, and other farming requisites; partly to carry out orders for cultivation which occupiers were unable or unwilling to execute. Some idea of the scale on which the new branch was working in 1918 may be gathered from the following figures of some of the activities of three of the principal divisions:

The Labour Division supplied in all 121,000 men, many of them inexperienced—soldiers on furlough, old-age pensioners, metropolitan policemen, prisoners of war, war agricultural workers and public school boys, and organised their accommodation in camps and elsewhere. The Women's Division put on the land 320,000 part-time workers organised in shifts and provided with boots, and a land army 20,000 strong, prepared to go anywhere and do anything, and clothed, housed, and conveyed them to their work. The Cultivation Division provided 4200 tractors, 66 additional steam-tackle sets, many hundreds of reapers and binders, 438 threshing machines, and thousands of ploughs, carts, lorries and minor implements. It operated 10,000 horses with their harness. It trained hundreds of ploughmen and tractor-drivers.

The policy of the plough was directed by the Board; but its administration was entrusted to local officers. Sixty-one small agricultural executive committees were formed of the most experienced farmers in each of the sixty-one counties and county

divisions of England and Wales. These local committees notified to the Board the needs of their districts and supervised their distribution. To them the Board furnished the quota of additional food which it expected each district to raise. To them also were delegated most of its compulsory powers. Committees were thus empowered to require grasslands, permanent or temporary, to be broken up or acts of cultivation to be done, and, if necessary to enter, plough or cultivate the land themselves. Notices were served on occupiers specifying those areas to be ploughed or cultivated which the committee selected for the increase of food production. Refusal to comply with these notices rendered occupiers liable to fines or imprisonment. Out of over 100,000 notices only 254 were resisted, and of these only eighteen escaped the penalty. Working at top speed, mistakes must have been made; but these figures afford some proof of the patriotic spirit in which the orders were obeyed, as well as of the judgment with which the work as a whole was done. The agricultural committees knew that they had behind them in the Food Production Department an efficient and powerful organisation which could and would execute their orders in case of default, and they carried out their difficult and invidious task with courage as well as discretion, giving their time, skill, and experience without any money reward.

The opening months of the campaign, which began in December 1916, were the most difficult. But farmers set about their task with courage. Late in the season though it was—and the winter was unusually protracted—the threatened decline in tillage was turned into a considerable advance. Though the English Board of Agriculture has little jurisdiction in Scotland and none in Ireland, the campaign was adopted by both, and, by co-operation between the three countries, made a United Kingdom effort. With nearly half their skilled labour now gone, farmers added approximately 1,000,000 acres to the arable area of the United Kingdom. The production of cereals in 1917 exceeded that of 1916 by 5,827,000 quarters.

Time and the efficiency of the Food Production Department enabled the Board to increase its efforts for the harvest of 1918. The farmers of England and Wales made gallant use of every opportunity that the weather afforded. They were not even discouraged by the call-up of 22,000 of their most skilled men in the spring of 1918. They succeeded in adding 1,950,000 acres to tillage. As a result the corn harvest of 1918 compared in abundance to that of 1868. Measured in quarters, 15,500,000 quarters of corn were added to the quantity raised in 1916. Measured by weight, and including potatoes, the addition was more than 6,250,000 tons. The result has been thus stated by Sir Thomas

Middleton. In normal times the home-grown bread supply lasts only for ten weeks; for the remaining forty-two weeks we are dependent on foreigners. In 1918, at the existing rate of consumption and standard of milling, the proportions were reversed. We had provided forty weeks' supply for ourselves and were only dependent on the foreigner for the remaining twelve weeks. The relief to tonnage was considerable. 6,250,000 tons of essential food were added which, unless home-grown, must have been imported; on the calculation of the day, the space occupied by 5000 tons of cargo was equivalent to a carrying capacity for 1000 soldiers. To the harvest of the plough must be added the harvest of the spade. By the middle of 1918 nearly 1,000,000 new allotments were added and the holders supplied with seeds, as well as instructed in cultivation and in canning or bottling fresh fruit and vegetables. As the war dragged on, and the strain on man-power and internal transport became more severe, the relief created by these local supplies of food was great. In most private gardens, moreover, vegetables took the place of flowers.

Farmers were naturally reluctant to plough, lest falling prices should find them with a ruinously large area of arable land. This fear was met by the Corn Production Act of 1917. It guaranteed farmers for six years prices that would save them, in those circumstances, from substantial loss. Before the Act expired it was amended by the Agriculture Act of 1920, which fixed a higher scale of prices and was repealed in 1921. The same Act which guaranteed prices created the wage board. Its creation was a necessary result of the plough policy. The Government was about to throw upon the land some 450,000 workers, who might be regarded by those already working on the land as subsidised blacklegs. Moreover, men exempted from military service for labour on particular farms were in an unfavourable position for bargaining, because, if discharged, they would be taken for the Army. Some machinery for fixing wages was imperatively needed, and the first wage board was set up under the Corn Production Act of 1917. It fixed one uniform wage for the whole country, because in this way alone could labour be supplied to all districts alike. Abolished in 1921, wages boards were restored in 1924, in a changed form, and without the accompaniment of guaranteed prices, or the pressure of the special circumstances. Instead of one wage board, each county now has its local tribunal for fixing wages, and granting permits for men, not fully able-bodied, to work at lower rates. I served for the first two years as chairman of the board in my own county, and formed the personal opinion that, at the present cost of living, wages could not be reduced, if efficiency was to be maintained.

Little now remains of the plough policy except a memory.

The tillage area has again dwindled and its acreage is now the smallest on record. Agriculturally, the effort of 1917 and 1918 was justified, because it turned a threatened decline into an advance, because it secured a measure of prosperity for the industry during the war years, and because, when peace came, it had placed farmers in a position to profit by their opportunities. If no effort had been made, farmers would have been powerless as individuals to cope with the difficulties of the position; large tracts of land must have become derelict, and a quarter of a century might have been spent in restoring their condition.

The past ends with the Great War. Omitting as an exceptional interlude the violent monetary disturbances which followed the peace, the present begins, for my purpose, with the cereal year 1926–27. 'Depression' means, as I take it, the condition when the farmer is forced to pay his way out of capital. Using the word in that sense, it seems to me unwise, and even mischievous, to exaggerate the extent and range of the present depression. It weakens the confidence of the farmers; it impresses the public with a sense of the hopelessness of the problem; it distracts attention from the very real and serious distress which exists in corn-growing, still one of the main branches of that complex industry which we call agriculture.

The present position of corn-growing may be illustrated from the sales off farms of revenue-producing commodities. Dividing the sales under the four heads

(1) Livestock and its products;
(2) Potatoes, sugar-beet and other crops;
(3) Fruit and vegetables;
(4) Corn,

the total sum realised is, roughly speaking, 220,000,000*l*. Towards this total livestock and its products contribute more than two-thirds; the remaining third is made up by the other three branches, and the smallest contributor is corn. The change is vast. In 1857, corn-growing was the pivot of English farming and the main source of the farmer's income. To-day, corn has not only lost the first place; it has fallen to the last, and only contributes one-eleventh of the income-bearing produce.

Although agriculture as a whole is suffering from selling prices which are low relatively to costs of production, farmers in some of the main branches of the industry are paying their way out of income. Taking the price-levels of all agricultural produce before the war at 100, the general price-level to-day is 146. But averages are rather an academic than a practical test of adversity or prosperity. They do not reveal the condition of those branches of the industry whose selling prices fall below the general level.

Only one product has continuously declined in price during the last four years, and that is wheat. To-day the group of cereals has a price-level which is the lowest of all groups and cannot be put higher than 125. It is cold comfort to the corn-grower that other branches of the industry raise the general level of prices above his own.

Averages of selling prices are no real guide even to general prosperity or adversity, unless they are compared with the general level of the principal costs of production. Fertilisers and seeds are below, feeding-stuffs and machinery are above, the general price-level of agricultural commodities. Labour, which on arable land accounts for from a third to a half of the total expenses, has risen far above. The official figures show a rise from the pre-war 100 to 176 in 1930. But this calculation is misleading. In both cases harvest earnings are excluded. But, with this exception, pre-war wages were paid for longer hours and included all payments for all hours worked; the calculation for to-day includes wages for statutorily shortened hours, and allows nothing for overtime. Farmers contend that the comparable figures are 100 and 200. It is probably fair to estimate the present level of wages at 190. The rise in feeding-stuffs, machinery, and labour not only discounts the cheapening of fertilisers and seeds, but raises the general level of costs of production considerably above that of selling prices. Even those branches of the industry, therefore, whose selling prices maintain the general level only enjoy a very modified degree of prosperity. Those whose prices fall below the average—and the lowest level of any is that of cereals—are fighting a losing battle with adversity.

It is not easy to generalise on the extent and locality of depression in any branch of the agricultural industry. The nature of the soil, the climate, the size of the farm, the system of farming, the proportion of arable to pasture, the access to market, the efficiency of the cultivator are all elements to be considered, and each puts question-marks to generalisations. But certain broad facts seem to stand out. First-class land holds its own wherever it is situated; it is the useful and poor land which, in varying degrees, is struggling with difficulties. Farms under 100 acres, capable of cultivation by family labour, are holding their own. Farms of over 100 acres which are obliged to employ hired labour, not lodged and boarded by the employer, feel the burden of wages. Farms which are wholly pasture, or contain only a reasonable proportion of arable, are holding their own, because they have a smaller labour bill, and because their chief products enjoy the natural protection of their perishable nature. Farms which are wholly or mainly arable and grow grain for sale are in the greatest difficulty. They bear the fiercest brunt of foreign

competition and the heaviest burden of wages. Even here, however, something depends on soil and climate. Where an intractable soil, such as heavy clay, chalk, limestone or very light soils, is combined with a deficient rainfall, the depression is most acute. It is therefore possible to define the area, though with many exceptions, geologically and geographically. If a line is drawn in a north-easterly direction from Dorsetshire through Bedfordshire to East Yorkshire, it is on the eastern side of this line that depression is really acute. The north, north-west, central, west, and south-west are districts in which depression, in the sense in which I am using the word, does not exist to any substantial and general degree.

In the area thus defined there is, in my opinion, acute and severe distress. There is nothing spectacular about agricultural depression. It does not arrest public attention like a closed pit or a blown-out furnace. Farms have to keep up appearances because, if cultivation is discontinued, the land reverts to wilderness. But behind these smooth externals tragedies are being enacted which are as poignant as those in industrial districts. It is here that rent arrears and reductions, notices to quit, changes of tenancy, or land thrown upon the owner's hands are most numerous. But none of these signs are visible to the eye. Nor do sales of agricultural land force the truth on the public. The same may be said of bankruptcies. Farmers' bankruptcies in 1927 and 1928 rose considerably above the average; but, compared with bankruptcies in other industrial undertakings, they do not exceed 6 per cent. of the whole. Many farmers have gone out in time. Those who remain are conscious that the life-blood of their industry is draining away as they watch the dwindling of their capital. It is often urged as a proof of the unreality of depression that, even in these districts, there is still competition for land. The fact is true, but the conclusion unsound. Farmers come from families who for generations have cultivated land. They have inherited its traditions. They know no other business. They love the soil and it is in their blood. Pessimists in speech, optimists at heart, they are willing to forgo all payment for their management and skill, in the hope of obtaining such a return on their capital, commercially inadequate as it is, as will enable them to stand on their feet. Now, however, these men are at their last gasp; their capital is disappearing fast, and the end seems to be approaching.

Corn-growers have again met misfortune. For wheat, barley, and oats the market has been worse than in 1927 or 1928, and those farmers who varied their cereals with potatoes have in this season met disaster. As a result of the depression in corn-growing districts the number of hurdle sheep has been largely

diminished. If it were not for the help afforded by sugar-beet, the reduction, though statistically concealed by the increase in hill sheep, would amount to something like 50 per cent. Even as it is, the decrease in the supply of mutton is substantial. The blow is, in fact, falling upon those lands in the eastern side of the country which were in times past, and might be again, our chief granary, and, as an adjunct of arable farming, our chief factory of mutton. It is here that the greatest triumphs of progressive farming were achieved, and here that the latest discoveries of science can be most fully realised. The one bright spot has been sugar-beet.

Corn-growing farmers cannot help themselves further. It must be years before any decline in Argentine meat supplies can make beef production profitable on arable land of this character. Meanwhile, the only resource of farmers is to convert their tillage into pasture, and they are adopting it at a record pace, with a consequent loss of employment for between two and three men on every 100 acres. But if they go to the expense of laying down fencing and water, what are they to produce? The milk supply is already adequate to the decreased consuming power of the public, and any considerable addition would be prejudicial to what is still a live industry. Moreover, much of this land, owing to the deficient rainfall, cannot be turned to satisfactory grass. At present there seems to be nothing to save it from becoming derelict. If this once happens on a large scale, the revival of a historic industry will be difficult.

Corn-growing, as I have said, has the lowest level of selling prices, faces the most paralysing effects of foreign competition, and bears the heaviest burden of State-regulated wages. Cheap bread and an adequate remuneration for labour are a boon to the nation; but the cost is crushing English corn-growers out of existence. If the public once realised that fact, they could not continue to accept this gift without some consideration for the men whose ruin is involved in that of their industry. Whether any remedy, and, if so, what, is to be applied is a political question; but it is one of such urgency and national importance as to be lifted above the range of party politics.

ERNLE.

LAND AND DEATH DUTIES

We—the British people—hold one world's record which it is unlikely any other nation will try to wrest from us. We are the most heavily taxed nation in the world; and the uppermost thought to-day in the minds of all men is how can these burdens be met. Just as land is the source of all wealth, so is it singled out as a form of property to bear the greatest proportion of taxes; and yet agriculture—the oldest of all industries—is the slowest to give any return on capital invested in it. Those who own land are therefore very hard put to it to find ways and means of facing up to the inexorable demands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Only a few landowners are lucky enough to have at their backs a long list of Stock Exchange securities which can be readily marketed; most have only their estate rentals and little else, unless it be the proverbial Scottish inheritance, 'A pickle land, a muckle debt, a doo cot, and a law-suit.' Of course, those who own town sites or minerals are in a different category altogether; what we are discussing at the moment are the difficulties of those who own the rural land of England and Scotland, and have to pay from time to time such heavy impositions as death duties.

If a man dies and his heir has no private wealth, he can only meet these death duties by selling something; and the only property he can part with is the land, or some part of it, to which he has succeeded. The question then is, must the claims of the Exchequer always be met in cash, or can they not, with equal benefit to State and citizen, be met wholly or partly in kind? This idea of the State receiving payment of taxes in any other form than coin of the realm might seem ridiculous were it not the fact that it is already quite a customary practice of the Government to accept land for various purposes. The Ministry of Agriculture receive land for the creation of small-holdings, and the Forestry Commission take possession of land for planting woods and the carrying on of woodland industries. It therefore seems not unreasonable to suggest that the Treasury might accept land with equal readiness for revenue purposes. Indeed, with the present Socialist Government in power, it would appear

quite appropriate that the Treasury should do so. The Minister of Agriculture and the Secretary of State for Scotland have both declared in unmistakable language that the policy of their Government is the nationalisation of land; and therefore definite approval of the payment of death duties in kind would merely be starting with the thin end of the wedge.

An objection sometimes put forward is that this policy of 'driblets' would take a long time to realise the Socialist ideal. One may, however, recall to mind the old and sound Scottish proverb, 'Big by big is the bolder, but bit by bit is the better plan.' Land nationalisation is a large and complicated question; but one truth stands out predominantly, and that is, that there are only two ways in which land can be nationalised—one is by confiscation and the other is by purchase. We can dismiss the former method as being unlikely to be adopted by any reasonable or honest statesman; and in considering the other method we must at once recognise the difficulty, or perhaps impossibility, of finding the money to carry through the purchase. The experience of land policy in Ireland is sufficient evidence of that. It all comes back, then, to looking at this matter, not as a Socialist Party question at all, but as a fiscal or revenue expedient which is not out of harmony with the declared policy of the present Government.

In 1909–10 Mr. Lloyd George, in introducing his Budget, would seem to have had some idea of the State becoming landowner on a big scale, for he introduced into the Finance Act of that year powers to transfer land in satisfaction of estate duty, settlement estate duty, or succession duty; but these powers have been made little use of. In fact, on only two occasions has it been possible for the Treasury to accept land in settlement of death duties—once in 1914 and again in 1915. The reason is not difficult to explain. The section in the Finance Act (section 56) lays it down that the transfer shall only take place 'if the Commissioners of Revenue see fit'; and a special Treasury Committee appointed to examine these proposals in 1910 reported that land should only be accepted 'if it could be utilised for some public purpose.' It is plain, therefore, that the whole position is a one-sided one, and that the option and powers of receiving land rest with the Treasury, and not with private landowners. The fact that the Act has been made use of in only two cases is no criterion as to the number of times it might have been of great advantage. The very fact that the Treasury Committee stipulated that land should only be received when usable for some 'public purpose' prevents all chance of offering ordinary farmlands. What is required is that all land which is assessed for death duties shall be tenderable on general principle, and that the value at which it

shall be accepted by the Treasury shall be that at which it has been assessed for taxation. There should be no question whether the Commissioners of Revenue 'see fit' for the transfer to take place. The landowner has no option whether he 'sees fit' to meet his burdens. He has got to 'deliver the goods' in the form of payment of the taxes due, and therefore, within the limit of his resources, he should be allowed freedom to discharge his obligations as best he can.

It has been contended that this would lead to the Treasury having a quantity of worthless land thrown into its hands. Why should this be so? Surely, if the land is really '*worthless*,' it never ought to have been assessed for death duties. If it has never been assessed, and it has no value, then it cannot be of any use offering it in discharge of taxation. On the other hand, if the land has a value, be it great or small, then it must have some use; and it is for the Government to put it to that use when they receive it. The chances are that the Government will receive the most valuable land, because the transfer of the same would discharge the greatest amount of death duties.

It has been argued, further, that the Government have no machinery to deal with offers in land; and perhaps therein lies the real reason why the Commissioners of Revenue have only 'seen fit' to accept land twice in the last twenty years, for on both those occasions they had a particular public purpose in view for utilising the land offered. If, however, the present Government have in mind nationalisation of land as a general policy, they must sooner or later—and why not now?—begin to think of machinery for dealing with the property of which they hope to become possessed. To talk about nationalising land in one breath and then in the next to say it is impossible to deal with it for lack of machinery comes very near akin to speaking without thinking, a crime of which no responsible statesman should be guilty.

There ought really to be no difficulty about dealing with the land. The Treasury Committee in the report already referred to advocate that the Treasury should not hold the land themselves, but merely act as an intermediary for the conveyance of the land to other public departments. This conveyance would presumably take place after the landowner had been credited with payment of his death duties. The various public departments on receiving the land would no doubt put it to its proper use, and this opens out a variety of possibilities. If the land offered should be town land or adjacent to a city, it could be sold to the municipality concerned, and the corporation would no doubt utilise it for slum clearance, a garden city or playing-fields, and other such-like public benefits. If the land was fit for afforesta-

tion, there is the Forestry Commission ready to accept it and plant the trees. If the land be fitted for agriculture, it can be determined whether the county authorities require it for a small-holding scheme, and if so it can be sold to the county authority. If no small-holdings are required, then it can be let to the sitting tenants or others through the Board of Agriculture; and here is a splendid opportunity for trying out the policy so often advocated by some farmers who want to become tenants with fixity of tenure and a fair rent determined by a land court. It should be remembered, of course, that a tenant of this nature becomes entirely responsible for all the buildings and general upkeep of his holding, and pays all rates or taxes that may be levied on the same. The buildings and the land would of course remain the property of the nation through the Board of Agriculture. If the land should be a barren glen in some out-of-the-way Highland area—for which no good can be found —it might just remain what it is and be leased for such purposes as the outgoing landowner found best; and worse things might happen than that the landowner himself might even become the tenant. The very last thing to be suggested is that the Government through any of their departments should try and work or develop the lands themselves, for, with the exception of afforestation, they are not capable of doing this; indeed, as Mr. Gladstone so often pointed out, national land management would only spell disaster.

It has been suggested that if the Treasury accept land this will mean the appointment of hundreds of officials, and the expense of their salaries will prove a heavy incubus upon the Government. There should be no necessity for these officials at all. Throughout the country there are hundreds of agency firms of good repute carrying on estate work of all kinds and looking after innumerable properties. There is no reason why they should not be made use of and act for the various departments of the Government. They could do so on what is called a 'time and line' basis in manufacturing industry—that is, on a footing of remuneration which covers actual out-of-pocket expenses, plus a reasonable fixed profit or commission. Furthermore, just as manufacturers are entitled to put on their notepaper 'On Admiralty List' or 'On War Office List,' so might these firms of agents decorate their correspondence with the much prized inscription 'On Treasury List.'

In the recent debate in the House of Lords one point was made by Lord Ponsonby (who was speaking for the Government) which would seem to require further explanation. He stated that the special Treasury Committee, from whose report he had quoted, recommended that the Commissioners of Revenue should

not themselves hold landed property, but should submit any offers of land received to the appropriate Government department, and that if that department is prepared to enter into negotiation for land it should negotiate with the landlord direct. He then said: 'These recommendations were accepted by the Treasury, who authorised the Commissioners of Inland Revenue to give effect to them.' Now, in the Finance Act, 1909–1910, section 56, paragraph 3, it most clearly says: 'The Commissioners of Inland Revenue may hold any property transferred to them under this section, and shall deal with it in such manner as Parliament may hereafter determine.' So far as evidence is available, Parliament has never determined anything on this subject since the passing of this Act; and therefore, unless a Treasury committee can possess or usurp parliamentary powers, there does not exist any authority under which the Commissioners can empower various departments to negotiate for land with landlords direct and credit proceeds against death duties. The whole position requires to be cleared up from the point of view of the Government and the Treasury, and some definite clear statement should be given that land will be accepted on general principle in the settlement of death duties.

From the landowner's standpoint freedom to offer land will prove of great benefit, and the evidence from the Forestry Commission that they have been offered and acquired at reasonable price nearly a quarter of a million acres in England, Wales, and Scotland should be ample proof that landowners are perfectly willing to avail themselves of the opportunity to offer land to Government departments, if the machinery for doing so is efficient and reasonable. As a corollary to the idea that the Government should accept land, it may be necessary to create in Scotland a National Trust, similar to the body of this name existing in England. This National Trust should be the department into whose hands the Government would transfer all land suitable to be held as, or made into, 'national parks.' At present no such body exists in Scotland, and if, for instance, the Trossachs or Loch Lomond with its islands were offered to the Government they would not know what to do with them.

The idea of paying death duties in land need not interfere in any way with the other proposal now being advocated, namely, that estates or buildings of historic interest should be treated in similar manner to works of art and made exempt from death duties. It is certainly to the interest of the nation that places of this nature should be preserved in this country; for, quite apart from the pleasure and amenity afforded to our own people, they are assets of value to the country, and help in no small degree to create and maintain that tourist traffic which is said

to bring money into the land. If an estate, because of its historic value, should be exempted from death duties it is very unlikely that it would be offered, because the owner would suffer no fiscal burdens in respect of it; but if the estate should be offered to cover other death duties, then a value would have to be put upon it and an exchange made upon the assessment.

One great advantage in transferring land to the Government would be that it would save landowners having to sacrifice many beautiful properties to those gentlemen so aptly termed 'land butchers.' These gentlemen purchase an attractive property, commanding lovely views, and possibly of historical value, for no other purpose than to develop the same as a commercial enterprise. The public are the losers thereby, for, although they may not have appreciated it before, the maintenance by the landowner of the property in its rural simplicity has been, relatively speaking, a national asset. In days to come, when building schemes and rapid omnibus transport have developed more and more, a quiet countryside with typical rustic views will be really priceless, for no landowner will be able to afford to retain it unspoiled by commercial atrocities except a benevolent Government.

The transfer of an estate from private ownership to the Government would save the serving of a good many notices to quit upon sitting tenants. These would simply be transferred along with the property, and much disturbance and unpleasantness to all concerned would be avoided. Furthermore, the landowners would be saved the expense and loss entailed by advertisement of public sales and the heavy commission and costs when properties are put up to public auction. A forced sale is seldom a paying sale, and if a private transfer can be arranged it is almost certain to prove more satisfactory.

The very fact that landowners possessed the right to pay their taxes in land would act as a very healthy deterrent to the Revenue officials in making their valuations. There is an uncomfortable feeling that sometimes the valuations made are excessive because it is well known that most landowners are too impecunious to face the heavy costs of an appeal to court or to arbitration. There are cases on record, for instance, where valuations of farms on the outskirts of a city have included a speculative building value over and above the true agricultural value. This speculation may, or may not, mature within the eight years allowed to a landowner as the period within which he must pay his death duties. If he holds on to the property in hope of a successful sale, he pays interest all the time on the outstanding amount of the death duties. If the building value be not obtained, then he has to sell at a loss against the valuation

upon which he has been assessed. It would surely be more equitable that the landowner should be able to transfer his property to the Treasury and let the Government take the chance of the speculative building value maturing. One thing is essential, and that is, that whichever department of Government ultimately holds the land, the department should pay all rates and taxes and other burdens that would be paid in natural course by a private owner. It is inconceivable that local revenue should be made to suffer on account of the death of some individual ratepayer. The Government in assuming land should assume all owner's obligations also.

It may seem strange that landowners are so willing to part with their land; but after all, if they have crushing burdens of taxation to meet and their other resources are limited, there is no alternative but to sell; and what does it matter who the purchaser be—whether private individual or the Government?

There is no desire on the part of landowners to evade their burdens. They carry to-day more taxation than any other class of people; and it is not unfair that they should ask that in meeting their impositions they should not be placed in a worse position than other men who have invested their money in War Loan instead of in the soil of their country. War Loan can be accepted in payment of death duties, and therefore land, as another form of capital property, should be available for the same liquidation too. Death duties are an accepted policy of this country, and if in payment of these the nation becomes possessed of land, then the transfer of the property will have been achieved by bloodless revolution, which is more than it would be if some wholesale, drastic, confiscating measure was forced through an astonished and bewildered Parliament.

MONTROSE.

SPAIN AT THE CROSS-ROADS

IT is still true to say that Spain is the least understood country of Western Europe, and that in spite of the increasing number of foreigners who visit her each year. Hence a riot in a Spanish town is magnified into a revolution, whereas if it occurred in France or Germany it would be estimated at its true value, while the record of solid progress is too often relegated to consular reports and other official publications. The natural result is that the average Englishman regards Spain as a backward country perpetually on the brink of chaos, and in its search for the sensational a section of the British Press is always only too happy to confirm its readers in this opinion. The corrective to this mistaken outlook is a study of Spanish history, but that is rarely undertaken, in the absence of suitable books, though for the understanding of such a complicated situation as the present it is indispensable to regard events in their true historical perspective.

The Spaniards are a conservative people, but owing to a series of misfortunes they have been compelled to subject themselves, in matters political, to a number of experiments of which the greater part has been in reality antipathetic to them. The old Constitution, in which the government was carried on by the King and Cortes, was almost transformed into a pure monarchy by the later Hapsburgs and the earlier Bourbons, and the Napoleonic invasion completed its destruction. Had Ferdinand VII. been more far-sighted, or had his Liberal opponents been more practical, the historic Constitution of Spain, like its English counterpart, might have been adapted to modern needs, and a great deal of unhappiness would have been obviated. As it was, the energies of the country during the greater part of the nineteenth century were frittered away in a pull-devil, pull-baker struggle between the advocates of different forms of polity, while the most conservative section of the nation, who should have supplied the much needed element of stability, engaged in civil war under the banner of Don Carlos. Such being the case, it is in no way surprising that the most conservative people in Europe should, during a period of 100 years, have experimented,

almost in spite of themselves, with practically every known form of human government.

The settlement which was effected at the restoration in 1875 was a definite attempt to close the era of revolutions and *pronunciamientos* by setting up a Constitution of the English and Belgian pattern, and for a time it worked well enough, especially while the memory of the disorders of the previous period was fresh in men's minds. It certainly disappointed the hopes both of the Carlists and of the Republicans during the early years of the present King's minority and at the time of the war with the United States; but at the beginning of the twentieth century it started to break down, and that for two main reasons—the parties showed an increasing tendency to split into groups, and the new problems that confronted the country were economic rather than political.

For some twenty years after the restoration the government was carried on by the Conservative and Liberal Parties alternately, under the leadership of Cánovas del Castillo and Sagasta. Unfortunately, they left no successors of equal ability, and, as in France and Italy, the parties proceeded to disintegrate apace. Of the only three Premiers who rose above mediocrity, Canalejas and Dato were murdered, while Don Antonio Maura was unreliable in the hour of crisis. In France the interest which the electorate takes in political problems has at the last moment always prevented the centrifugal tendencies in the parties from bringing the governmental machine to a standstill, but in Spain the apathy of the general public is profound, and it is no exaggeration to say that on several occasions prior to General Primo de Rivera's *coup d'état* the King was compelled to govern as well as to reign. The effect of this political anarchy—for it was nothing less—was felt in all branches of the administration, and in 1921 it was the direct cause of the disasters which overtook the Spanish arms in Morocco.

Then, again, there was the growth of economic problems with which, with very few exceptions, the politicians proved incompetent to cope. There is a great deal to be said for the view that the collapse of the parliamentary system in so many countries is due to the inability of a political system to remedy economic ills, and certainly the history of Spain during the past twenty years gives point to such a contention. During the late war certain parts of the country became industrialised almost in a night to supply the various needs of the belligerents, and so much money flowed into Spain that from being one of the poorest nations in Europe she became within the short space of five years one of the richest. The Armistice at once raised the problem of the best way to maintain this prosperity, but it was never really

faced. The result was the rapid growth of Communism, accompanied by the most brutal outrages, in the industrial districts on the one hand, and the dissipation of the newly acquired wealth on the other.

Such was the situation in September 1923 when General Primo de Rivera seized power. He was undoubtedly supported in his action, unconstitutional as it was, by the mass of the nation as well as by the King, and in the early days of his administration his only enemies, apart from the Communists, were the older politicians whose intrigues he had so rudely interrupted. Of the material benefits which the General conferred upon Spain during the six years that he was Prime Minister there is no need to speak, for they are common knowledge all over the world, and it is rather upon his mistakes, unfortunately, that one must dwell, for they are more prominent at the moment. These mistakes, in effect, all proceeded from the fact that he never disguised the essentially military nature of his government.

Signor Mussolini's *coup d'état* was just as unconstitutional as that of General Primo de Rivera, but the first act of the Duce was to throw the cloak of legality over what he had done by securing a vote of confidence from the Chamber. Had the Marqués de Estella adopted a similar policy with regard to the Cortes, he would have obviated a great deal of the trouble which both his master and he had to encounter, and one cannot help wondering why King Alfonso did not insist upon such a course being followed. What actually happened was that the Cortes was dissolved, and the Government became a pure monarchy, though a National Assembly was instituted as an advisory body. Such procedure alienated a great many of those who had supported the *coup d'état*, for even in the most Conservative circles there was a marked disinclination to return to that military control which it was felt had proved so harmful to the interests of the country in the nineteenth century. In September 1923 General Primo de Rivera was in the same position that Signor Mussolini had been in a year before. Nothing would have been easier than for him to have got a vote of confidence from the Cortes, and he could then have remodelled the Constitution at his will. He preferred, however, to rely upon the sword, and to this initial mistake all his subsequent embarrassments were due.

As time went on General Primo de Rivera began to realise the weakness of his position in this respect, and he entrusted the National Assembly with the task of drawing up a new Constitution. This gave his enemies an opportunity of which they were not slow to take advantage, for it enabled them to accuse him of seeking to make his position permanent in contradiction to his earlier statment that he regarded his tenure of power as a

purely temporary expedient. In addition the pendulum of such public opinion as there is in Spain began after three or four years to swing against him, while the fall in the exchange value of the peseta was a useful handle for all who desired to upset the existing order. Even so, General Primo de Rivera would probably have been able to maintain his position had he not committed the blunder of appealing to the military and naval chiefs for a verdict in his favour. This was not only a further sign of his contempt for civilian opinion, but it was a direct encroachment upon the prerogative of the Crown, and the King insisted upon the General's resignation.

At the same time it should be noted that General Primo de Rivera was not swept from power by any popular movement. The old politicians, with the exception of Don Gabriel Maura and Don Antonio Goicoechea, refused to co-operate with him, and towards the close of his administration there was considerable discontent in the army, chiefly owing to his attempt to enhance its efficiency. At the moment every Spaniard who suffered from the virtues or the defects of the late Government is loud in his denunciations of it, but now that General Primo de Rivera himself is dead it is by no means unlikely that the years which he spent in office will be shortly regarded as a halcyon period in the history of Spain. The Napoleonic tradition only became irresistible ofter the death of the Emperor, and so it may well be with the Marqués de Estella. Had he lived he would almost certainly one day have returned to power, for although his fall was doubtless hailed with joy by many, so was that of Espartero in 1843 and that of Narvaez in 1857, and yet both men were again installed in office before long amid the plaudits of their fellow-countrymen. The very *gaffe* which precipitated the present crisis may well prove in the long run to have been beneficial to the dictatorial form of government, for it prevented it from continuing for so many years that the mass of the people grew tired of it. In short, the growth of a Rivera tradition is certainly not improbable, though it remains to be seen who will be the dead General's political heir.

Whatever the future might have held in store for the Marqués de Estella had he lived, the immediate effect of his fall was calamitous in the extreme. The old parties and groups had become mere shadows of their former selves, while the Unión Patriótica, which General Primo de Rivera had formed in imitation of Fascismo, has never obtained any real footing in the country. In these circumstances the King was forced to form a Ministry which is essentially palatine in character, and it is the realisation of the fact that for the time being he is the absolute master of Spain that is the cause of the virulent attacks that are being made upon him. Before, however, discussing the possible outcome of

the existing situation it is necessary to pass in review the different factors which are at work.

There can be no doubt that the parties of the Left have received many recruits from among those who wish to see the civil power supreme in the State, and who believe that this can only be brought about by the overthrow of the existing order. Under the Republican banner there are united for the moment Communists, Socialists, theoretical Republicans like the scholarly Unamuno and Don Gabriel Alomar, and Radicals like Señor Lerroux, though one may perhaps be pardoned for wondering whether the disorders which characterise the movement are not due to the inspiration of Moscow. All these divers elements are agreed that the King must be held personally responsible for the faults of the late Government and for the suspension of the Constitution, and in this latter point they have the support of Señor Sanchez Guerra, the old Conservative leader, though he is apparently not prepared to go so far as to advocate the overthrow of the monarchy.

On its negative side the object of the Left is clear, for it is no other than to make the position of the Crown impossible, but its constructive programme is by no means so obvious, and the one man who could have led it to victory, Pablo Iglesias, is dead. Indeed, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that what is usually known as advanced opinion in Spain is in reality very far behind the times, and the Republicans appear to consider that the slogans which brought down the throne of Charles X. will prove equally effective in rallying the masses to an assault upon that of Alfonso XIII. One can hardly repress a smile when reading of Republican demonstrations at which the *Marseillaise* is sung to voice the revolutionary sentiments of those present, while every orator of the Left throughout the Peninsula seems obsessed by political, to the complete exclusion of economic, considerations. In short, the Spanish Republican still lives in the world of 1848, and the abolition of the monarchy and the persecution of the Church appear to him to be all that is necessary to place Spain in the front rank of the nations of the earth. He does not seem to have realised that since the war the distinction between monarchy and republic is essentially one without a difference, and that the choice before his country is not between King Alfonso and the Second Republic, but in all probability, if the monarchy is overthrown, between the rival autocracies of Communism and Fascismo.

If the Left is vocal but disorganised, the Right is hardly in a position to profit by its weakness. The old Conservative Party, which was so great a force in the days of Cánovas, has been divided into groups for many years, and so far no leader has arisen with sufficient prestige to reunite them and to rally them to the defence

of the throne. Don Antonio Maura might have done so, had he lived, though he and the King were by no means always on the best of terms, and he often displayed a considerable lack of energy in moments of crisis. His son Don Gabriel (Conde de la Mortera) is better known as a historian than as a statesman, though a good many Conservatives regard him as the man who will eventually do for the Spain of to-day what Cánovas did for that of yesterday. The newly elected leader, the Conde de Bugallal, is still to some extent an unknown quantity, though his recent manifesto is encouraging to his followers in that it has undoubtedly caused a reaction in favour of the established order. Don Antonio Goicoechea is at once one of the leading lawyers and foremost political thinkers in the country, and his writings show him to be thoroughly imbued with the doctrines of the French Nationalists in general, and with those of M. Maurras in particular. He has, however, yet to obtain the opportunity of proving his ability to put his ideals into practice. Señor Cambo, the Catalan leader, has hitherto devoted himself to finance, and he is accordingly regarded as the Poincaré or the Caillaux of Spain by his admirers and enemies respectively. Of the other leading Conservatives of the old order Señor Bergamín is no longer so prominent as he once was, and Don Angel Ossorio y Gallardo seems inclined to throw in his lot with Señor Sanchez Guerra.

At the present time, too, the Conservatives are divided upon the question of procedure. Some of them desire the immediate convocation of the Cortes, others consider that this should be postponed until the turbulence of public opinion has somewhat abated, while yet a third section demands the assembly of the Cortes Constituyentes and the reform of the Constitution, although this step has always led to serious disorders in the past. There is, too, to be taken into account the widespread feeling in Conservative circles that the Republicans do not constitute a menace, and that General Berenguer had better be left to extricate the country from its present embarrassments, after which the hereditary guardians of throne and altar will be prepared to guide its destinies. In short, the Conservatives do not appear to realise that if the monarchy can survive the existing crisis without their support it may decide to dispense with their services altogether in the future, while, if it falls, there will be no more place for them in a republic than there is for the Octobrists in Soviet Russia.

Of the Liberals, apart from the Conde de Romanones, little has been heard during the last few weeks, and there can be no doubt but that many members of that party have moved a good deal further to the Left during the past seven years. Indeed, the same fate seems to have overtaken Liberalism in Spain that

has befallen it in other countries, and the circumstances hardly appear to favour its renaissance. The Conde de Romanones is no Sagasta, and even if he were he would be a general without an army, for the younger generation of Spaniards is either definitely of the Left or contemptuous of all politicians, whatever their opinions.

Such, in brief, is the state of the political parties in Spain to-day, and it cannot be described as encouraging to the friends of that country. It may be, of course, that now the dictatorial *régime* has come to an end fresh leaders will make their appearance, but at the moment it must be confessed that there is no sign of this, and those who now aspire to control the destinies of the nation are for the most part the same men whose incompetence precipitated the *coup d'état* of 1923. It is true that an effort is being made to throw the whole blame for the events of that year upon the King, in spite not only of the popularity of General Primo de Rivera's action with the nation as a whole—a popularity which the Conde de Bugallal has publicly admitted—but also of the fact that in the hour of crisis the politicians gave the throne no help. It is therefore with a certain amount of apprehension that one regards the possibility of the return to power of the older generation of politicians.

Fortunately for Spain her destinies do not lie solely, or even principally, with her politicians, but with the throne, whose present occupant is one of the ablest statesmen not only in his own country, but in Europe. It is true that King Alfonso probably made a mistake in not insisting upon the convocation of the Cortes to ratify the *pronunciamiento* of General Primo de Rivera; but the Constitution has been respected in the breach rather than in the observance so often by the politicians themselves that he can be excused for merely following their example, the more so as he is bearing the brunt of the attack at the present time now that the Marqués de Estella is dead. The strength of the King is his personal popularity even with those who have no love for the throne as such, the wealth of monarchical feeling in a country which has been pathetically loyal to the very worst of sovereigns, and the memory of the disorders which took place after the flight of Isabella II. To these must be added the support of the Church and of the army, as well as that curious individualism in the national character that respects the strong man for his strength alone, and holds in admiration even the memory of Ferdinand VII. as *el mucho rey*.

On the other hand, there can be no question but that the immediate future of Spain depends upon the life of the present King, and the problem of the succession to the throne is not the least among the difficulties that the country has to face. Many

unkind and unjust rumours are in circulation with regard both to the Prince of Asturias and to his brother, the Infante Don Jaime, but the truth is that the health of neither is sufficiently robust to give any hope that they would prove the strong monarchs that Spanish conditions so emphatically demand. The third son of the King and Queen, the Infante Don Juan, is only a boy of sixteen, so it is not difficult to imagine the delicate situation which would arise were the demise of the Crown to take place in the midst of the prevailing political uncertainty. Sooner or later the question of the succession will have to be settled, but with the memory of what followed the deaths of Charles II. and Ferdinand VII. still in their minds responsible Spaniards are chary of raising so thorny a problem. The knowledge, however, that this difficulty exists is responsible for such rumours as that which appeared in the British Press a few weeks ago to the effect that King Alfonso was about to abdicate in favour of his brother-in-law, the Infante Don Carlos, a member of the Neapolitan branch of the House of Bourbon. Fortunately the King's announcement that he will remain on the throne at all costs has had the effect of putting an end to these rumours, though the problem which gave rise to them still remains to be solved.

The attitude of the army in such crises as the present has been the determining factor in Spain for upwards of a century, and the events of 1923 prove that, for better or for worse, the day of the *pronunciamiento* is not yet over. In no country in Europe is there less militarism, yet in none is the army more powerful, and the secret of this apparent paradox lies in the fact that it is far more truly representative of the people than any Cortes, elected by a mere counting of heads, has ever been. In this it resembles the Roman legions under the empire, which represented the people in a way which the Senate could never have done, and if proof of this be wanted it lies in the fact that in both cases the civilian followed where the soldier led. It was the army that placed General Primo de Rivera in the saddle, and when he lost its confidence the King called upon him to resign. Its attitude at the present moment is uncertain, for General Berenguer has many enemies, but it is overwhelmingly monarchist, while the influence which the King personally enjoys in its ranks was shown at the time of the mutiny of the artillery officers in 1926. In any event, it is unlikely in the extreme that the army would ever be induced to throw in its lot with the Left, whose leaders never lose an opportunity to show their contempt for the soldier.

The Church is a staunch upholder of the existing order, and during recent years has exerted her influence to check the activities of the Catalan Separatists. Quite apart from the fact that in all countries she endeavours to work, where it is possible, with the

de facto régime, she has in Spain special reasons for giving her support to the monarchy and all for which it stands. The Left, as in every Latin nation, is impregnated with anti-clericalism, though not perhaps of quite so virulent a type as in France, and its record when in power has been by no means encouraging from the point of view of the Church. For this reason the clerical influence is certain, following the recent instructions of the Cardinal Primate, to be thrown into the scale of the Right and of the monarchy, and as the franchise can hardly, in the long run, be withheld from the women, that influence is likely to be formidable in the extreme.

Lastly, there are the 23,000,000 Spaniards to whose interests all these conflicting parties and institutions profess themselves devoted. Never was there a nation with so many counsellors, or one so indifferent to their advice. The apathy of the Spanish public is proverbial, and it has never been more prominently displayed than during the present crisis. In France the fall of the dictatorship would have been accompanied by riots resulting in bloodshed on an extensive scale, but in Spain only a few students and a handful of Communists have thought it worth their while to proceed from talk to action. Indeed, to a very large extent the prevailing uncertainty is due to this apathy, for if, as the newspaper *La Libertad* truly remarked a few days ago, there is neither an organised Left nor an organised Right, the reason is that there is not sufficient interest in politics to form either. The younger generation is claimed by the Republicans, though with somewhat doubtful justice, but it is probably too interested, for the most part, in business and sport to worry about anything else, and the rest of the nation is just waiting, like Mr. Micawber, for something to turn up. In this there is undoubtedly a distinct element of danger, for the recent history of Russia has shown the peril to be apprehended from allowing a small minority to control the destinies of a great people, and in some respects the comparison between modern Spain and Czarist Russia is too close to be altogether reassuring. On the other hand, the tradition of civilisation is infinitely stronger in the Western country than in the Eastern, while the collapse of Carlism, or Jaimism as it should now be more properly termed, has reunited the supporters of monarchy after a schism that has lasted nearly a century.

The Spaniard is an idealist in theory and a realist in practice, which perhaps explains why there are so many Republicans at the present time and yet so few who are prepared to help to establish a republic. The *cafés* are full of men vociferously attesting their devotion to the sacred cause of liberty, but they almost all consider that this public expression of opinion is as far as there is any need for them to go. In this some, perhaps unduly cynical,

critics have noted a marked resemblance between the Spaniard and the Englishman; but, however that may be, the Spaniard rarely finds himself driven, like his French neighbour, to express his opinions on the barricade, and in practically every recent revolution in Spain the army has played the leading part. At the same time, the national realism induces the people to put up with the Government in power for fear that any change may be for the worse, and as the Spanish demand little from their rulers save to be left alone, they are prepared to tolerate a good deal that other nations might resent. Nevertheless, a spark may cause a conflagration when least expected, for when Charles III., as the result of a number of murders in the streets of Madrid, forbade the wearing of those long cloaks under which daggers were so easily concealed, he raised a tumult that nearly overturned the throne, but when he ordered the expulsion of the Jesuits not a dog barked throughout the length and breadth of his dominions.

Such is the Spain that to-day stands at the cross-roads, and, as has been said, both at home and abroad she most assuredly does not lack counsellors who, between them, advise her to adopt every form of government known to man. In actual fact, however, the choice is almost certainly limited to a republic or a continuation of the present *régime* with some alteration of the existing Constitution.

The disappearance, for whatever cause, of King Alfonso at the present juncture might well cause the establishment of the republic, for upon that the Left is united, while without the support of a strong monarch it is doubtful if the Right, in its disorganised condition, could offer any effectual resistance. Once the revolution had taken place, however, it is difficult to believe that a republican *régime* could last. The Spaniard is a thorough democrat socially, but he is far from being a republican by nature, and the record of the First Republic in Spain is by no means reassuring. On the morrow of the overthrow of the monarchy the victorious party would be torn with dissensions whether the republic was to be unitary or federal, Socialist or Conservative, and in these troubled waters both foreign Powers and Communist agitators would at once begin to fish. The Left, as has been shown, has given no sign of producing a leader who can co-ordinate its activities in opposition, let alone in power, and where Castelar and Pi y Margall failed the present Republican chiefs are hardly likely to succeed. Above all, the Spain of to-day is not the Spain of the First Republic, and the commercial and industrial elements would not tolerate the anarchy that flourished sixty years ago, when a part of the Spanish fleet had to be interned at Gibraltar until the restoration to prevent the crews from turning pirate. In short, the republic, as in Portugal and

in Spanish America, would very soon give place to a dictatorship, and the Left would not be long before it regretted the absence of King Alfonso's restraining influence upon the dictator. Even a definitely Fascist *régime* would by no means be an impossibility, and those who are so loud in their opposition to the throne at the present time would do well to ask themselves whether they prefer the monarchical system of to-day or the autocracy of a Mussolini or a Pilsudski. However regrettable the fact may be, political democracy has never flourished in Spanish soil on either side of the Atlantic, and there is no evidence that in this respect the future is likely to be different from the past.

The alternative—and it is the course that every true friend of Spain will wish her to adopt—is to adapt the existing Constitution to modern requirements. The scheme favoured by General Primo de Rivera was doomed from the start for reasons which have already been discussed, but it contained provisions that might well be copied. It is clear that the Executive must be strengthened, or the crises which disturb France will be repeated south of the Pyrenees with more disastrous consequences, and if some provision could be made, as was intended by General Primo de Rivera, for the direct representation of economic interests, it would go far to weaken the influence of the politicians. Above all, the revision of the Constitution must be made in the light of the conditions of to-day, and not of those of 1848, for the ills from which Spain is suffering, in common with the rest of the world, are economic, and they cannot be cured by political remedies. The country was a prey to generals and *doctrinaires* during the greater part of last century, and now is its chance to get rid of both. Already there are signs of a reaction against the violence which the Left has displayed, both in word and deed, during the past two months, and if this feeling gathers impetus, as it well may, the elections, which can hardly take place until the autumn, should return a Cortes in which there is a working majority for a reform of the Constitution along practical lines.

Meanwhile, General Berenguer holds the field, and whatever view one may take of his military capabilities, there can be no denying the fact that he has deserved exceedingly well of his country in exceptionally trying circumstances. In spite of his own imprisonment during his predecessor's tenure of office, he has gone out of his way to defend the latter when nothing could have been easier, or more popular in certain circles, than to have cast upon him all the blame for the present crisis. It is true that he has not sanctioned the immediate revival of the political life of the country, but to have done so would have been playing into the hands of the revolutionaries, while he has precedent on his side in that it was not until thirteen months after the

restoration that the Cortes met. He has, as in the case of the students, shown his desire to be conciliatory, though he has equally displayed a determination not to be coerced by the threats of the extreme Left. If he can keep the peace until the elections have been held or the Constitution has been revised, General Berenguer will rank among the greatest of Spanish patriots.

CHARLES PETRIE.

EMMELINE PANKHURST AND MILITANT SUFFRAGE

TIME's revenges, always bitter sweet in their irony and their inevitableness, can rarely have been consummated in so completely satisfying a manner, and with so little delay, as in the case of the militant suffrage leader whose statue was unveiled by Mr. Baldwin at Westminster on March 6. The full significance of this public tribute to Emmeline Pankhurst within three years of her death will be realised chiefly by those who were her colleagues during the stormy nine years that preceded the outbreak of the Great War; but few can fail to appreciate the moral triumph implied in the choice of a site for her statue almost on the very spot that saw her actually rejected and cast out. Future generations, when they go to Parliament for redress of grievances or in defence of their liberties, will be reminded by the slender marble figure that now overlooks the region where the women's fight was hottest, of one who strove and suffered in the same eternal cause of human progress and triumphed in the end.

That Mrs. Pankhurst regarded the campaign for women's political enfranchisement as part of the greater war for freedom that never ends can be gathered from the story of her life. She came of a stock that was identified with progressive thought, her father holding advanced Radical views and her grandfather having narrowly escaped with his life at Peterloo; and her militant followers used to like to remind their audiences that she was born on the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille. At school in Paris she came in contact with the daughter of Henri Rochfort and was attracted to Republican opinions; but she did not take an active part in public affairs until after her marriage to Dr. Pankhurst in Manchester, where her first piece of political work was done in connexion with the committee formed to promote the Bill drafted by her husband that afterwards became law as the Married Women's Property Act. She worked hard in his interest on the two occasions when he stood for Parliament, and, having joined the Fabian Society in London and the Holborn Women's Liberal Association in 1886, she remained a Liberal until the year 1892, when, back again in Manchester, she became a member of

the Independent Labour Party and stood unsuccessfully as the I.L.P. candidate for the School Board. In the following year she was returned at the head of the poll in the election for the Chorlton Board of Guardians, and speedily made her mark as a fearless reformer and an able administrator. Her daughter, Sylvia Pankhurst, gives an illuminating account of the human side of these early activities in an article in which she writes [1]:

> As a Poor Law guardian she was resourceful in securing alleviation of their drab lot for the victims of poverty and the Poor Law. A touch of home, a glint of the motherly housewife's common sense, she imported into the workhouse; for she had the capacity, rare in accomplished administrators, of seeing the human being in the 'inmate' and the 'case.' She fought against the upholders of tradition to secure backs for the old people's seats; that the bread, hitherto dealt out in a chunk of given weight to each inmate, should be cut up and buttered (or alas! to be accurate, margarined), and set out on plates for all to take what they chose, the residue being made into puddings instead of going into pig-tubs as of yore . . . little things, but received with great gratitude in those days. She was active in the building of the Poor Law Children's Cottage Homes. I well remember her activity and her zest. No detail escaped her interest. That was ever her mood—everything she touched was to her vastly important.

All this time she was also in touch with other reform movements, and those who did not meet her until later in life would find it hard to believe that only her intense enthusiasm for the causes she embraced enabled her to overcome her early distrust of her own powers as a speaker—not the only instance in history of the evolution of an orator from one by nature reserved and inarticulate. This makes it all the more interesting that her first conflict with the authorities on a question of principle should have occurred in association with Keir Hardie over the famous free speech controversy of Boggart Hole Clough.

How much she was affected by the death of her husband in 1899 few outside her family were ever allowed to know. Sylvia Pankhurst calls it 'the loss of him who had been the lodestar of her life'; but we know that her public work went on uninterrupted, for she was appointed registrar in Manchester when Dr. Pankhurst died, and in the following year she was elected Trades Council nominee on the School Board. This power of detachment, of subordinating private claims to public service, was always a distinguishing mark of her character, and one that is sufficiently rare, especially in women, to be taken in her case as indicating an instinctive realisation of the part she was to play in the public affairs of her generation. When her only son died, years later, at a critical moment of the suffrage agitation, even her intimate

[1] *Manchester Guardian*, March 6, 1930.

associates were scarcely aware of all that it meant to her, and the work went on as before. Yet it was about the same period of her life that the Rev. Hugh Chapman, Chaplain of the Royal Savoy Chapel, wrote of her, on the occasion of one of her imprisonments, as 'a most womanly woman, a fragile, tender-hearted, patient person, who, whether rightly or wrongly, is at present behind the bars, though she being in prison yet speaketh with a voice which, if I am not mistaken, will long survive as a bugle call to the liberators of women.' The prophetic touch in the last sentence, in view of the recent ceremony at Westminster, is rendered more emphatic by another passage in the same article (which appeared in *Votes for Women*, March 29, 1912), in which the writer observes: 'We constantly kill our prophets and afterwards erect their sepulchres.'

The tendencies of her early life in Manchester are enough to show that Mrs. Pankhurst would have come to see the vital connexion between woman suffrage and the causes she advocated even had she not been married to a man who never lost sight of that connexion. With Dr. Pankhurst she worked in the Women's Suffrage Society that he had helped to found in 1865, and together they joined later with Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy and Mrs. Jacob Bright, and others, in forming the Women's Franchise League. After his death, as her work brought her still more in contact with social conditions, the question appeared to her to assume even greater urgency, and, feeling that fresher and more vigorous methods were called for, she founded, in 1903, the Women's Social and Political Union. This was in its inception, like other suffrage societies, a non-militant organisation; and its founder, assuming that the work for the woman's vote would reach a reasonably early culmination, excluded from its title any reference to the franchise in order to provide for its continuance after the vote was won. As it turned out, of course, the suffrage side of its activities absorbed the full energies of its members right up to the outbreak of war in 1914.

As Emmeline Pankhurst frequently related in after years, it was her daughter Christabel who originated the idea of militant tactics. For the first two years of its existence the new union employed all the recognised methods of political agitation and made no real headway. The world, for women, went very badly then; and the vicious circle which enclosed them, because Governments would give no serious heed to a franchise claim made by women who had no franchise with which to enforce it, seemed unbreakable. Christabel Pankhurst, fresh from passing her law examinations and faced with her inability to overcome the sex prejudice of the Bar to which she was qualified to be called, compared the history of men's enfranchisement with that

of the women's fruitless endeavour, and saw that the difference lay, not in the claim, which was identical, but in the methods employed. Without as yet visualising violence as part of the women's campaign, she discerned the immediate need for converting an appeal for justice into a demand for a right, that should be accorded as much political consideration as any demand made by men who were voters; and she formulated the policy of opposing every Government that refused votes to women until it brought in and passed a Government measure. This made a clean break with the old suffrage policy of obtaining pledges of support from private members of Parliament irrespective of party; but it was a recognised political weapon and one already adopted by the Irish Party at Westminster in order to bring Home Rule similarly within the sphere of practical politics.

The first step in the new campaign was taken on October 15, 1905, when Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney, a mill girl, went to a Liberal meeting in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, in order to ask the chief speaker, then Sir Edward Grey, not if he personally was in favour of woman suffrage, as he was known to be, but what the Liberal Government intended to do about it if the party were returned to power at the forthcoming General Election. Similar questions on other matters, put by men, were answered in due course; the women's question, sent up on paper, was laid aside unanswered—not unnaturally, since any answer to it, put in that form, must have committed the future Government to a definite policy one way or the other, and no Government at that time would have dreamed of putting the women's question on the party programme. When the two girls displayed a little banner bearing the words 'Votes for Women'—which became henceforth the militants' battle cry—and insisted on an answer to their question, this unprecedented interruption by women of an election meeting caused an uproar, in the course of which they were both thrown out with considerable force. On attempting to address the crowd outside they were arrested for obstruction, and on the following day sentenced respectively to seven and three days' imprisonment in default of paying the fines imposed. That was the birth of militancy; and at this distance of time it is perhaps pardonable to reflect how different would have been the subsequent course of events had that question been answered in a statesmanlike manner in October 1905.

Emmeline Pankhurst avowedly did not originate militancy or the policy that led to it, but she identified herself with the new tactics so promptly and unreservedly that this slight chronological detail would scarcely call for notice except for the evidence it affords of her perception and of the perfect understanding that

characterised her relations with her eldest daughter. She had many qualities that made her an exceptional woman, and not the least of them was the vision that primarily enabled her to detect where the younger woman excelled in political acumen and freshness of outlook, and afterwards gave her the courage and faith to grasp all the implications of the new policy at a moment when scarcely a voice was raised in its defence. Nor did she ever waver during the strenuous years that followed in that faith or that courage, though this involved her in a physical and spiritual suffering abhorrent to one of her nature. It has been recorded of her by the nurse who attended her many times on her release in an almost dying condition after hunger-striking in prison that 'Imprisonment was mental torture to her; she was peculiarly shy and sensitive, and she shrank from being touched.'

To be able to understand how a woman of this kind felt impelled to offer herself to indignity and insult and violence rather than continue to work quietly for the vote through the ordinary channels of political agitation one must realise two things, and first, that to Mrs. Pankhurst and those who rapidly rallied round her, from keen social reformers like the Pethick Lawrences and Lady Constance Lytton to artists and professional women like Elizabeth Robins and Dr. Garrett Anderson, the ordinary methods seemed to have outgrown their usefulness. That they should have been tried first was readily admitted; but it was maintained that the case for militancy could be sufficiently based upon the failure of non-militant methods, after a fifty years' trial, to secure serious attention. The climax of the patient and magnificent work accomplished by the older suffrage societies seemed to have been reached in 1884, when Mr. Gladstone's Government refused to accept a woman suffrage amendment to the County Franchise Bill, and the women's supporters in the Liberal Party consequently voted against it and caused its defeat. After that, although the suffrage movement struggled bravely on, it lacked confidence, and it could be reasonably claimed that on political grounds alone militancy was justified.

But the mass of women were not yet sufficiently awakened to be moved by the political argument alone; and so the second fact to be realised, if we wish to understand what sent the militant message like a flame through the country and made Emmeline Pankhurst and others come near death in its name, was that the world in which these things happened was not the world of to-day.

> There has been since then [said Mr. Pethick Lawrence, at the unveiling of the statue last month] a fundamental change in thought. A quarter of a century ago women were regarded as outside the main stream of life and only as ministers to the happiness, the comforts, or the vices of men. To-day they have taken their right places as co-equal participators in human destiny.

In that world a double standard of morality was still accepted tacitly by the majority of women as well as men; the inferior status of women, whether legal, economic, social or political, was being combated by only a minority of the population, and, although much had been done by the pioneers to increase the occupational openings for women and to raise the standard of their education, the mass of working-class women were still being sweated or underpaid and the mass of middle-class women were still expected to prefer privileges to rights and chivalry to justice.

It was the realisation of these facts, although she herself had lived in more enlightened circles and knew a freedom of the spirit independent of material status, that fired Mrs. Pankhurst to militancy; and it was into this world of twenty-five years ago that she poured the flood of her enthusiasm and so rallied thousands of law-abiding women to the purple, white and green banner of rebellion. If to Christabel militancy was a sound political means of forcing the hand of a laggard Government, to her mother it was a weapon with which to lash the submissive woman into a consciousness both of her inferior position and of the effect upon civilisation of her acquiescence in that position. Militancy thus came to mean to the average woman who adopted it the expression of wrongs long felt but hitherto thought irremediable, wrongs that were only superficially the wrongs of women, for in their repercussions they poisoned the life of the whole community.

The full effect of the forces thus released could not have been foreseen, because no one could have foretold the extent to which politicians and events were to play into the women's hands. It is invidious to discuss whether a Government formed from another political party would have adopted a less unimaginative attitude towards the militant movement, or whether, if Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman had not unfortunately died at the beginning of it, the Liberal Government which remained in power throughout its duration would have committed the error of trying to suppress it by force. We know that this blunder was committed and led to more and worse blunders, producing in their turn more forcible manifestations of militancy on the part of antagonists the righteousness of whose cause rendered them invulnerable; while those Liberals who retained their democratic principles, and would have applied them to women as to men, found themselves handicapped by the fact that their leader, Mr. Asquith (then Prime Minister), was a declared anti-suffragist. The flawless logic of the militant suffragists could be met by Liberals only in two ways—by acquiescence in the women's demand for political representation, or by coercive measures to repress that demand; there was no logical way of

efusing it. That was why Mr. Asquith could not receive the eputations from militant women that sought his presence in uccessive sessions of Parliament. He knew they were no longer o be put off with evasive promises; as a Liberal he could not eny their claim, so he met it with force. To shelter his refusal o receive them behind some dusty statute of Charles II., forbidding more than twelve persons in procession to approach the House when it was sitting, was, of course, a quibble, and the women challenged it by limiting their actual deputation to the equired number and receiving the same treatment as before.

The first violence was therefore committed by the Government, he women contenting themselves with passive resistance and a efusal to take 'No' for an answer. In meetings addressed by abinet Ministers they put their inexorable question and were t once thrown out, often with great roughness, by stewards nd audience. In Parliament Square they were met by many undreds of police, who soon began to handle them with conderable brutality and allowed the worst elements of the crowd o do the same; often this went on for hours before they were ranted the mercy of arrest. It is necessary to recall these ainful episodes and to show that the original violence came from he forces on the Government side; otherwise it would be difficult understand how a woman of Mrs. Pankhurst's nature and ulture, to say nothing of her followers, could have taken part scenes outside the House of Commons that to the passer-by, nisled by the inaccuracies of a sensational Press, simply conveyed he appearance of unseemly brawling by hooligan women.

But illogical, unstatesmanlike, and often in its consequences humane as the Government in power showed itself to be, this pposition did indirectly strengthen a movement that was no nger stagnant and unrecognised. The sensational doings of he 'suffragettes,' as a daily paper nicknamed them in derision, ut as they grew proud to be called, advertised the cause widely, ecured to all suffragists vast audiences and the attention of the ress, and fully justified the originators of militancy in their tention of reviving a somnolent movement. But the chief ervice rendered unwittingly by the Government's repressive easures was to afford the militants innumerable opportunities make sacrifices for their cause and so win increasing support om people who would have been left unmoved by mere argument. oercion, of course, bred coercion; and the increasing violence of olice methods in Parliament Square, directed towards dissuading the women from courting arrest, goaded the latter into bandoning passive resistance for attacks upon property, a ethod which secured instant arrest without brutality. The ew phase of militancy was initiated in 1911 by the breaking of a

few Government windows: this led to more demonstrations of the kind until the windows of business firms were attacked; and after that the campaign increased in intensity until, in the months preceding the war, the forces of a powerful Government were ranged against a little band of fearless outlaws, who succeeded in burning down public buildings, from park pavilions to railway stations, in blowing up telegraph poles and stopping telegraphic communication, and in similar ways endeavouring to demonstrate that they were in revolt against society until society admitted them to equal status with men.

Similarly, the action of the authorities in refusing to the suffragettes the special status in prison that had been accorded to men political offenders in the past led to the protest of the hunger strike; this was met by the abomination of forcible feeding, and, in order to obviate the premature release of women undergoing long sentences, finally by what was known as the Cat and Mouse Act, a measure passed in 1913 to provide for the temporary release on licence of the hunger-striker, so that she could be re-arrested, when restored to a semblance of health, and an attempt made to force her to serve the rest of her sentence. In the forefront of this second phase of militancy, too, was Mrs. Pankhurst.

But throughout the nine militant years, 1905–1914, she took an active part also in the non-militant side of the movement. At two General Elections, as well as many by-elections, on which occasions militancy was suspended and reliance placed on argument alone, her great gifts as a speaker exercised a powerful effect upon the electors, so much so, indeed, that after one such contest in a West Country constituency she was attacked by roughs and her foot injured. She walked in the immense suffrage processions that were a feature of this period; she presided over mass meetings in the Albert Hall and elsewhere; she worked as hard as any non-militant suffragist to effect conversions by the appeal to reason. But it is idle to doubt that her name will in the end be remembered chiefly in connexion with her defiance of laws she would have been the first by nature to obey, and of conventions to which all her instincts would have readily induced her to conform.

Her first imprisonment occurred on February 13, 1908, when she led a handful of women across Parliament Square, carrying the customary message to the Government framed by a crowded meeting of women in the Caxton Hall. Her intention was to present it in person to the head of the Government; but as usual the deputation was not allowed even to reach the door of the House, and Mrs. Pankhurst and her companions, with many other women supporters, were finally arrested for 'obstruction'

because they declined to go away without seeing the Prime Minister. For this technical offence she served a sentence of six weeks in the second division, wearing the dress and eating the food and otherwise submitting to the prison conditions accorded to the criminal offender. In October of the same year she stood in the dock at Bow Street, with her daughter Christabel and Mrs. Drummond, to answer a charge of incitement to riot, based upon a leaflet issued by them which called upon the public to help the women to 'rush' the House of Commons. For this offence she served three months' further imprisonment. In March 1912, with Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, joint-editors of *Votes for Women*, she was tried for conspiracy in connexion with the widespread campaign of window-breaking, which, affecting important shopowners in the West End, produced an outcry that no longer permitted the Government to pretend that the militant agitation was a negligible outbreak of a few disgruntled women. All three leaders were sentenced to nine months' imprisonment in the second division, but, on finding after their transference to the first division that the same treatment was not given to their followers who were imprisoned at the same time, they at once began a hunger strike in protest and were released on the understanding that they would not take part in militant tactics until the expiration of the term of their original sentence.

Miss Pankhurst having evaded arrest on this occasion by escaping to Paris in a clever disguise, the militant movement was now conducted by her from abroad, and it was during the next two years, dating from October 1912, at which time the six years' connexion between the Pankhursts and the Pethick Lawrences was severed, that the campaign of arson and other attacks upon property, already mentioned, took place. In April 1913, convicted in respect of this campaign of conspiracy for the second time, Mrs. Pankhurst was sentenced to three years' penal servitude, the jury bringing in a verdict of guilty, with a strong recommendation to mercy on account of the purity of her motives. In a fine speech from the dock she pointed out the inequalities of the law then existing, which, in the minds of the militant women, had brought the law of the country into disrepute and given them their justification for breaking it.

> I break the law for no selfish motive [she said]. We are women who rightly or wrongly are convinced that this is the only way in which we can win power to alter what to us are intolerable conditions. . . . There is only one way to put a stop to this agitation. It is not by deporting us; it is not by locking us up in gaol; it is by doing us justice.

She did not serve her three years' imprisonment. After a nine days' hunger and thirst strike in Holloway Gaol she was released under the Cat and Mouse Act, in a condition of great weakness and

pain, on a fifteen days' licence, was re-arrested in due course, then again released in rather a worse condition, and again re-arrested, and so on, until the process had been performed ten times. Her sufferings were equalled by her amazing courage. More than once, by sheer will power, she recovered sufficiently to make a dramatic escape on the eve of re-arrest from the home or private house in which she was being nursed—both were always at her disposal—either for the purpose of extending the period of recuperation before again undergoing the prison ordeal, or to make some public protestation of her faith. She managed in this way, between hunger strikes, to address Women's Social and Political Union meetings, sometimes from an invalid chair, once to appear at the Medical Congress, and once even to sail to America and address meetings there, again being arrested at Plymouth on her return to England. The strain must have been terrific. She was sometimes so roughly handled that a doctor's certificate, after one of her releases, declared her to be suffering from bruises and abrasions, 'all evidencing the marked degree of violence to which she had been subjected.' Neither insults nor violence shook her indomitable purpose. 'I shall prove,' she had foretold in a speech made at Cardiff, 'in my own person that the punishment unjustly imposed upon women, who have no voice in making the laws, cannot be carried out.' It was not carried out. When in August 1914 she was included in the general amnesty granted to all suffragettes, it was shown that she had, during sixteen months of suffering, served in intermittent periods not quite six weeks of her sentence.

That was the close of the militant campaign. The suffrage movement persisted, however, and women were included in the Representation of the People Act of 1918, their full political enfranchisement being finally won last year. Mrs. Pankhurst's further career concerns those sections of the public with whom she worked during the war, and afterwards when she joined the Conservative Party and stood for Parliament as their candidate. Her real fame will rest on no sectional or party political achievement. To posterity she will be the woman who founded and inspired the militant Union, who worked and suffered and was prepared to die for the enfranchisement of women.

Looking back over the years, one is able to see more clearly than at the time, perhaps, the extent and the nature of the contribution made by Emmeline Pankhurst to this remarkable outburst of revolt on the part of a race of women whom the rest of the world had been inclined to regard as rather phlegmatic and peculiarly deferential to the claims of polite convention. The eloquence with which she was able to sway great crowds of men and women depended more upon the feeling and conviction that

lay behind her words than upon her actual arguments. She was not a born orator like Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence, marshalling facts and balancing judgments, leading up to a peroration that rounded off her speech and drove it home to her listeners. Nor was she humorous and combative and ruthlessly logical in her political attack, like that brilliant protagonist Christabel. She was very rarely humorous in her speeches, and they did not give the impression of being deliberately planned. But she carried her audience off their feet by a magnetic power that sprang from a rare personality. She had that great quality, passion, without which no human being is complete and no cause is ever won. She had personal attractions and charm to a high degree, and a very beautiful voice. It was impossible to look at her and to listen to her without feeling that in that frail and gracious woman, with the finely moulded features and wonderfully expressive hands, was embodied a passion of anger for the age-long wrongs of women who were born too soon to set them right, and a fire of resolution to win freedom and redemption for the generations to come.

It would be easy in so human a person to discover the defects of her qualities: that she was perhaps intolerant of criticism, impatient of what was sometimes a necessary pause, unable to deal with the pettifogging objections of weaker brethren, and quite incapable of compromise even if compromise seemed to offer sound constructive advantages. Her mind was cast on broad lines; her qualities were the qualities of her defects, and her defects served only to show the wisdom of that partnership with her daughter Christabel and with Emmeline and Frederick Pethick Lawrence, whose qualities were complementary to hers.

What remains unforgettable is that in her own person Emmeline Pankhurst bore the burden of a martyrdom that would be incredible to us to-day if we failed to realise that it happened in another world, and to realise, further, that the world of to-day is a different world because she helped to make it so. Whether she addressed thousands from the platform or led twelve women into the horrors of Parliament Square, whether she marched at the head of a procession five miles long, or fought single-handed in the dark solitude of her prison cell, she gave always that impression of greatness which is inseparable from the possession of unshakable conviction and invincible courage, and which makes the martyr of all the ages

EVELYN SHARP.

THE BRITISH SUMMARY COURT IN THE RHINELAND

The Englishman is very proud of his system of criminal justice. In its main essentials he has taken it with him to most of the countries in which he has settled, and he has endowed with it races very different in temperament and character from the people who first evolved it. Not the least remarkable chapter in its history closed last year with the departure from the Rhineland of the British Army of Occupation, for with that event there came to an end the existence of a flourishing English court exercising wide criminal jurisdiction in the heart of a great Continental State. Probably never again will circumstances produce such a tribunal. The following short account of its work may therefore be of interest.

On the famous day in 1919 on which the delegates assembled at Versailles signed the Treaty of Peace with Germany they also signed a document known as 'The Rhineland Agreement.' This document contained the main conditions governing the way in which the Allied occupation of the Rhineland should be carried out. Among many other things, it provided that all civilians who committed offences against the persons or property of the occupying forces should be subject to trial by the courts of the army concerned. It also created the Inter-Allied Rhineland High Commission, and conferred on it the power of making ordinances for the control of the occupied territories. Persons who contravened these ordinances were made subject to military jurisdiction. The Allied armies thus became faced with the task of providing suitable courts for trying a large variety of criminal cases of a civilian character.

In discharging this duty the occupying Powers adopted quite different plans. The French introduced the elaborate court-martial system of the French army, with its hierarchy of officials and judges. The British, incorrigibly addicted to practical improvisation, created one simple and flexible tribunal, which combined the humanity and dispatch of a London police court with the military qualities proper to the judicial machinery of an army of occupation. This tribunal was known as the Summary

Court. It consisted normally of a single military officer sitting as sole judge of law and fact. In cases where a sentence of more than two years' imprisonment was likely to be awarded from two to five other officers sat with him. The bench was usually occupied by an experienced English barrister, whose services were permanently retained for that purpose and who held temporary military rank. Another barrister, also holding military rank, initiated and conducted prosecutions. He was supplied with evidence collected by a staff of detectives working under the deputy provost-marshal. The procedure normally followed was that of an English stipendiary's court, though in more serious cases the proceedings became somewhat more formal and, except for the absence of a jury, approximated to those of a trial at assizes. All accused persons could be represented by counsel of any nationality, and British and German advocates very frequently appeared. Through the medium of an official interpreter proceedings were conducted in both English and German. No machinery for hearing appeals existed, but the Commander-in-Chief scrutinised the record of every case and exercised the right to quash convictions and remit sentences.

The English procedure followed was a constant source of interest to the many Germans who came into contact with the Summary Court. German criminal procedure is essentially inquisitorial. The main duty of a German judge is to elicit the truth. He decides what witnesses shall be called, and he it is who examines them. He also examines the prisoner, sometimes very rigorously. Though it is too much to say that German law presumes an accused person to be guilty until he proves the contrary, yet it certainly provides no presumption of innocence, and it requires him to take at every stage an active part in assisting the inquiry into the charge made against him. The English method of requiring the prosecution to make out a substantial case before inviting the defence to make any reply was extremely puzzling even to the German lawyers. On those occasions when the case for the prosecution broke down, and a verdict of acquittal was given without calling on the defence, the incredulous amazement on the face of the prisoner provoked smiles even from the bench. In such cases it was not unusual for the equally puzzled defending lawyer to attempt to open an elaborate defence even after the fact that his client was acquitted had been impressed on him. The English system of oral examination and cross-examination of witnesses also presented difficulties to the German practitioners. In German courts, after the presiding judge has examined a witness to his satisfaction, counsel on either side may obtain permission to put a few questions on points not wholly cleared up, but in practice these questions are framed with such prolixity

that they bear no resemblance to cross-examination as we understand it. When, therefore, German practitioners appeared in the Summary Court they were, to say the least, considerably embarrassed through lack of any real experience in questioning witnesses. Defending counsel's examination of his own witnesses would usually consist of little more than reading to them the proof of their evidence and inviting their assent at the end of each paragraph. A gentle inquiry as to whether learned counsel could perhaps avoid leading the witnesses quite so much would usually result in the unaccustomed task being gratefully surrendered into the more experienced hands on the bench. Cross-examination presented still greater difficulties, and, after a preliminary uproar, usually achieved a similar fate. However, in spite of the disadvantages under which they laboured, German practitioners undoubtedly liked appearing in the Summary Court, and frequently expressed their approval of the procedure and of the justice meted out.

The wide jurisdiction of the Armies of Occupation over offences against their members brought into the Summary Court a considerable volume of ordinary crime. The frequency with which cases of housebreaking and larceny from dwelling-houses occurred was very marked, especially in Cologne. It seemed that the light-fingered fraternity of that city at one period singled out the houses of members of the British Army for particular attention. That this should have been so was the more remarkable in view of the fact that most military householders possessed arms, a privilege strictly denied the German population. Indeed, on one occasion a British officer who found a party of three burglars in his rooms made such effective use of his automatic pistol that at the subsequent trial the dock in the Summary Court presented rather the appearance of a hospital casualty ward. In addition to running the risk of being shot when inside a house in military occupation, criminals knew that if they were convicted before the British court they would receive considerably heavier sentences than were usually awarded in German courts for burglary and kindred offences. In the case just mentioned, for instance, the sentences ranged from eight to ten years' penal servitude. Perhaps the true explanation of the preference shown to British houses was to be found in the state of the windows. A passion for fresh air has its disadvantages, especially in a Continental city.

While offences against property were many, serious offences against the person were remarkably few. During the whole period of the occupation only one civilian was convicted of murder. This case was remarkable in that the trial took place six years after the crime was committed. The prisoner, a young

Pole, was in 1919 a member of a gang of youths who had assumed the self-imposed task of cutting the hair of German girls found associating with British troops. In the course of an altercation arising from this activity he shot a New Zealand soldier, and then fled to unoccupied Germany. In 1925 he returned to Cologne on a visit. Within a few minutes of his arrival a German detective arrested him and handed him over to British military custody. Owing to the lapse of time since the murder the witnesses of the actual shooting had become dispersed, and it was necessary to bring one of them, an ex-soldier, from New Zealand to give evidence. The court sentenced the prisoner to death, but the Commander-in-Chief commuted the sentence to one of penal servitude for life.

Of less serious offences the most frequent were cases of endangering the safety of members of the Army by reckless driving of vehicles. The German motor driver has very little road sense, and usually seems to be peculiarly self-centred. Also, traffic control in Germany is still far from efficient, although there has been some improvement in this during the last two years. The handling of these driving cases in the Summary Court hugely interested the German public. Almost every charge of this kind was strenuously resisted, although the fines awarded were not greater than those customary in England for similar offences and the Court had no power to endorse or suspend licences. Sometimes, with Teutonic solemnity, the defence would go to the length of calling expert witnesses and putting in elaborate plans and calculations, although the negligence was clear and the probable punishment a fine of 40s. The tenacity with which the German motorist fought was in marked contrast with the conduct of his more definitely criminal brother, who would plead guilty to a theft in circumstances where an English lawyer would advise at least a run for one's money.

One of the most famous ordinances of the Rhineland High Commission made insulting conduct 'by word, act or gesture' towards officers, soldiers or members of their families an offence triable before the military tribunals. The number of these cases to come before the British Summary Court was very small, and seldom exceeded a dozen a year. This was the more remarkable in view of the fact that the troops mixed with complete freedom with civilians in the cafés and dance-halls of the garrison towns. Large numbers of them, too, were billeted with their families in undivided portions of German houses. Perhaps, however, Private and Mrs. Atkins' ignorance of the niceties of the German language was not without its effect in this respect.

Though the German householder's 'words, acts or gestures' but seldom led him to the dock, quite frequently his omissions did

so. The duties of a person upon whom an officer or soldier was billeted were not merely negative. Under pain of prosecution he was required 'to treat him, his family and servants, with civility at all times and to grant them the necessary facilities for the comfortable occupation of the quarters allotted to them.' In Germany the landlord of a block of flats or converted house usually prepares an official-looking document called 'the house rules,' with which he requires his tenants or lodgers to comply. Efforts to enforce rules which were, as was often the case, arbitrary and annoying upon members of the Army usually led to the appearance of their author before a tribunal that did not regard them as having quite the immutable and sacrosanct character ascribed to them by the disciplined Teutonic mind. A similar fate befel landlords who sought to make a few extra marks profit out of their billeting money by economising unduly with their central heating. Occasionally, too, owners of barns and similar buildings who placed difficulties in the way of the troops' billeting during field training appeared in the Summary Court. In all such cases the most willing and definite witnesses for the prosecution were the local burgomasters and country policemen.

In 1923 the fluctuating state of the currency in Germany produced conditions peculiarly conducive to profiteering by shopkeepers. Accordingly, the Rhineland High Commission by ordinance forbade traders and others 'to make excessive profits to the prejudice of the personnel of the Armies of Occupation . . . in connexion with the supply of goods or services for the satisfaction of ordinary requirements.' For several months the Summary Court worked at high pressure in enforcing this ordinance. The traders fought tenaciously: they called innumerable experts; they put in exhaustive lists of overhead charges; they showed how the fall of the mark made their cash takings melt like snow from hour to hour. Gradually the Summary Court evolved a body of case law which gave each class of article a certain approved margin between selling price and wholesale cost. But one day, greatly daring, the prosecution proceeded against a doctor who had charged a British officer for medical attendance a fee which was appropriate more to Harley Street than to Cologne. At once the fat was in the fire, for with no wholesale cost to work on the Court was at the mercy of the experts. The battle raged for two days. Both sides called their experts: one group swore that the fee was outrageous; the other that it was little more than nominal, and that only from motives of charity could it have been fixed so low. The case ended in a conviction on the rather special ground that the accused doctor had charged not only for his attendance, but also for loss of business caused by absence from his consulting-room whilst actually attending the patient. In

1924 the ordinance was repealed, much to the relief of everyone, except possibly the German *Hausfrau*, who derived both entertainment and pecuniary benefit from the legislative adventure.

During the latter years of the occupation the Summary Court dealt with several cases of masquerading as officials of the armies, conduct not unnaturally forbidden by ordinance. The most remarkable of these was that of a young German who carried out a very profitable and ingenious fraud on his fellow-countrymen. He caused to be printed a set of forms which purported to be official notifications of sentences of the Summary Court. Having selected a victim, usually a woman living in some remote village, he filled in her name on one of these forms, followed by a statement that she had been convicted of some minor offence and had been sentenced to pay a 10-mark fine. He then posted this document to her, and some days later called on her and said that he was a British detective who had been sent to collect the fine. If his victim protested he produced a metal disc suitably embossed with the legend 'Scottland Yard' (*sic*) and revealed under his coat a sash bearing the letters 'M.P.' The production of these insignia, together with a threat of immediate arrest, usually resulted in the terrified woman paying over the sum demanded. The fraud was not really so transparent as it seems, for in Germany most petty offences are in fact punished by police fines without trial. The impostor did not, however, confine himself to the *rôle* of a collector of fines. On one occasion he visited a village burgomaster and told him that he had been ordered by the British authorities to search the locality for hidden arms. Accompanied by the burgomaster and constable, he then solemnly searched every house in the village, finally requisitioning a horse in order, as he informed the impressed functionaries, to proceed to further urgent duties elsewhere. Unfortunately for him he was arrested a few days later, and was awarded six months' imprisonment at the Summary Court.

Perhaps the case that attracted the widest public interest was that of the Deputy Regierungspräsident of Cologne. In 1923 France and Belgium seized all the railways in the occupied area outside the British zone and administered them through the medium of a body known as the 'Franco-Belgian Régie.' This body issued a paper currency of 'Régie francs,' and required all payments for railway travelling to be made in it. In June 1924 a large quantity of forged 'Régie francs' appeared in Cologne. At this time the French were still in the Ruhr, and feeling between them and the Germans was rather acute. It was soon whispered abroad that the German Government was attempting to discredit the Franco-Belgian railway currency by means of these

forged notes. Public excitement increased when the deputy-regierungspräsident, the second senior representative in Cologne of the Prussian Government, was arrested and charged in the Summary Court with 'When aware that a certain person was attempting to circulate or cause to be circulated in occupied Germany forged Régie franc notes failed to report the same to the representative of the Inter-Allied Rhineland High Commission in Cologne.' The case for the prosecution mainly depended on the evidence of a Jewish merchant who had distributed the notes in Cologne. He said he had received them from a man to whom he had given financial facilities at the request of the accused. The latter, he said, on being shown the notes and asked whether there was not something crooked about the transaction, gave an assurance that all was in order, adding, 'You don't think H. would give you false money?' (H. was the person who had brought the notes to Cologne.) The defence sought to discredit this witness by a most peculiar argument. He was, they pointed out, a Galician Jew, and therefore his testimony should be treated as suspect, because Galician Jews do not consider themselves bound to tell the truth unless they have taken a certain form of oath known only to their own rabbis. Without appearing to appreciate the humour of the situation, the accused later entered the box and admitted that during the preliminary inquiries he had himself made several quite untrue statements, being bound by his Civil Service obligation not to reveal any of the secrets of the Ministry of the Interior. The trial ended with an acquittal.

A few months later another political case of some importance took place. The Rhineland High Commission by ordinance had forbidden all persons resident in the occupied territories to be members of any association having for object military training or instruction. Of all associations in Germany to which this prohibition applied the most famous was the Nationalist league known as the Stahlhelm Bund. In July 1924 military police surrounded a restaurant near Cologne and found a branch of this league in secret session. The chairman, a young bank clerk, was tried in the Summary Court. He strenuously insisted that he and his associates were banded together solely for social intercourse. Unfortunately for him the prosecution was able to put in evidence a bundle of papers which, the police witnesses swore, he was in the act of concealing when arrested. These papers included two military training manuals and a letter written by a high official of the Stahlhelm Bund forwarding dummy membership rules and explaining how the prisoner should conceal the true objects of the association by means of the social intercourse story. This document concluded with the words 'Destroy this letter.' The result of the trial provided the prisoner with sufficient leisure in which

to remember that most conspirators' letters are better in the grate than out of it.

During the last two years of the occupation several diverting cases arose from the playing of the German national anthem, *Deutschland über Alles*. In order to prevent disturbances the Rhineland High Commission required persons who wished to play the anthem in public places frequented by both soldiers and Germans to obtain military permission beforehand. Occasionally a leader of an orchestra whilst rendering a patriotic piece in a park or restaurant would lose his head and, amidst thunderous applause from a delighted audience, launch forth into the strains of the forbidden anthem. When the offending hero took his stand in the Summary Court the proceedings usually developed a somewhat Gilbertian air. 'That which the prosecution says was *Deutschland über Alles*,' defending counsel would argue, 'was nothing of the kind. A bar here, a bar there, a *soupçon* of the refrain, perhaps, but nothing more. But the basic substance, the ultimate essence of the piece, was really another tune, not dissimilar, maybe, but not the anthem for which permission should have been obtained.' Prosecuting counsel would call for the score from which the orchestra played and present it for an anxious scrutiny by a harassed and musically untrained bench. Defending counsel would call his inevitable experts. Towards evening an acquittal or a nominal fine would provide an effective curtain, and everyone would go home, somewhat exhausted, but profoundly convinced of the impartiality and thoroughness of British Justice.

While it would be exaggeration to say that the German public regarded the Summary Court with affection, yet towards the end of the occupation it became quite an accepted and not unpopular feature of local life. It sat twice weekly in the Wiesbaden Courts of Justice, a large building in the centre of the town. The space reserved for the public was always crowded with spectators, who flocked in from the neighbouring German courts as soon as word went round that the British Court was in session. The German Press attended regularly and reported the proceedings very fairly. Seldom was there any hostile Press criticism, even in Nationalist papers published outside the occupied territories. Frequently the judgments received most favourable notices even where political offenders had been convicted. On more than one occasion an organ compared the handling of cases by the Summary Court very favourably with that of the German courts in similar matters.

An army of occupation is not perhaps the most attractive medium through which the people of a foreign country may examine the merits of our criminal jurisprudence. For this

reason the widespread esteem always shown by all classes of Germans for the British Summary Court was the more remarkable. Three qualities seem particularly to have impressed them. The first of these was the thoroughness of investigation which our system of examination and cross-examination involves. Next they appreciated the rapidity with which trial followed arrest and the abhorrence the British mind has of protracted imprisonment pending inquiry. Finally, they envied us a procedure which relieved the judge of the need to conduct the inquiry himself. 'Your judges,' said a German lawyer, 'do not have to descend into the arena and bandy words with witnesses as ours do. Your Court has shown me the value of judicial detachment.'

It is well known that Germany is not altogether satisfied with her present system of criminal justice. It may well be that one day she will bring her procedure more into line with our own; indeed, during the past year certain tentative experiments in that direction have been attempted in Berlin. One thing is certain: those of her people who have seen our system actually working in their own country entertain for it the liveliest feelings of respect and admiration.

NORMAN PARKES.

THE RISE OF THE POULTRY INDUSTRY

Less than a hundred years ago there was no such thing as a poultry industry in the sense in which the term is understood to-day. Poultry have, of course, been kept since time immemorial, but only in a humble way. In the hands of the gamekeeper's and small farmer's wife they provided a supply of fresh eggs and table birds for the well-to-do. Even so the supply did not meet the modest demand, and considerable quantities came over from France and elsewhere. To-day, although we import to the value of somewhere about 20,000,000*l.*, we raise an even greater quantity on our own soil. Poultry is a branch of agriculture rivalling dairy farming and corn growing in magnitude, and there are indications that in the near future it may yield pride of place to neither. It is not without interest to inquire how this amazing change has come about, and in so doing we shall limit ourselves to such causes as are peculiar to the industry itself, taking no account of conditions such as better transport, advertising propaganda, etc., which it shares with industry in general.

Apart from minor by-products, eggs and meat are the two things which the fowl produces, and of these eggs are by far the more important. The yearly number produced by a hen under ordinary healthy conditions varies very greatly. It may be less than thirty: it may be more than 300; though about 160 may be taken as a fair average for a sound flock. Since the cost of food and housing is about the same, whatever number of eggs the bird lays, there is evidently a wide range between considerable loss and considerable profit according to the type of bird kept. We know to-day that high fecundity is in large measure a transmissible property; that a high average of egg production may be cultivated and maintained through selective breeding. This was not always so, and since this idea of selective breeding is one of the corner-stones of the industry, it may not be without interest to wander back a few centuries and see how it gradually received recognition.

A convenient starting-point is Gervase Markham's *Cheap and Good Husbandry*, originally published in 1614. It was the best

and most comprehensive English account of poultry that had appeared, and, since it ran through a number of editions during the seventeenth century with practically no alteration, we may take it as embodying the poultry lore and practice of the time. Indeed, we find that during the eighteenth century also most works on general husbandry which treated of poultry based their accounts upon Markham's work.

Markham devotes about twenty pages in all to poultry, of which about half is given to fowls, the rest treating of turkeys, ducks and geese. His account, though brief, is fairly sound, and imparts the sort of knowledge that we may find to-day among those who, in a happy-go-lucky way, look after the small flocks of miscellaneous birds on the average small farm.

As might be expected, some of his hints hardly accord with modern practice. Thus, to keep a hen from sitting he advises that 'you shall bath her oft in cold water, and thrust a small feather through her nostrils.' In this case his recommendations might conceivably be efficacious, but it is difficult to believe the same of his treatment of sore eyes.

> If your Poultry have sore eyes, you shall take a leaf or two of Ground-Ivy, and chawing it well in your mouth, suck out the juice and spit it into the sore eye, and it will most assuredly heal it, as it hath been often tried.

One of the most interesting sections is that on capons, bringing into relief as it does the great change brought about through artificial methods of hatching and rearing.

> These Capons [he says] are of two uses: The one is to lead Chickens, Ducklings, young Turkies, Pea-hens, Phesants and Partridges, which he will do altogether, both naturally and kindly, and through largeness of his body, will brood or cover easily thirty or five and thirty; he will lead them forth so safely, and defend them against Kites or Buzzards more and better than the Hens: therefore the way to make him take unto them is this, with a fine small briar or else sharp nettles at night, to beat and sting all his breast and neither parts, and then in the dark to seat the chickens under him, whose warmth taketh away his smart; he will fall much in love with them, and whensoever he proveth unkind, you must sting, or beat him again, and this will make him never forsake them.

To the modern reader one of the most striking things about Markham's account is the absence of any suggestion of improvement by selecting the best layers to breed from. The few hints that he gives on the choice of breeding stock concern only the general appearance of health and vigour. Yet all this time selective breeding had been going on in the game fowl, as, indeed, we may gather from Markham himself in his *Country Contentments*, first published a few years after *Cheap and Good Husbandry*.

But the method practised for the nobler sporting bird does not seem to have been considered for its plebeian cousin. It is

significant that Markham deals with the two in separate works, and throughout we find that the literature on the game fowl is sharply separated from that on the utility bird.

Not until the middle of the eighteenth century have we any definite evidence of the formation of distinct breeds in this country through man's selective operation. The account of fowls in Hale's *Compleat Body of Husbandry* (2nd edition, London, 1758) is obviously based on Markham, but among the few additions made by him is the statement that

> The industry of those who breed poultry, has of late years greatly multiplied the breeds: but these differences are not so great as many imagine. They arise from small distinctions, and will sometimes go off in the continuance. Between the Darking fowl, and the little Bantam, there are many degrees in bigness: and the game breed is altogether distinct from both.

The breeder's efforts were clearly not much appreciated from the utilitarian point of view. The quotation is nevertheless interesting as evidence that the Dorking, pre-eminent in after years as a table fowl, had already come into existence, and this must have meant selective breeding for size.

In 1749 Réaumur's well-known treatise on artificial incubation was published in Paris, and in the following year appeared an English translation under the title of *The Art of Hatching and Bringing up Domestic Fowls of all Kinds, at any Time of the Year.* As indicated by the title, the main subject of the treatise is artificial incubation, a method warmly advocated by Réaumur as a means of greatly increasing the head of poultry in France. To this we shall return later. But the book is also a treatise on the rearing and feeding of chickens, and abounds in practical observation. For Réaumur was a lover of poultry and a keen observer as well as a learned and ingenious experimenter, which is well brought out in his last chapter, 'Containing a View of the Philosophical Amusements the Birds of a Poultry-yard may afford.' He is very practical, too, as, indeed, we should expect from one of his scientific eminence, declaring that 'the first thing we ought to know is the proportion of the product to the expense: *viz.* what a hen costs and what benefit she yields to her master yearly.' While candidly confessing 'that the very rudiments of what we ought to know concerning the product of all the birds of a poultry-yard are yet wanting,' he sketches out a number of experiments that could be undertaken for determining the most productive fowls to keep, having regard to size of eggs as well as to mere numbers. He recognises the value of winter layers, and suggests experiments for throwing hens into an early moult in order to induce earlier laying. He shows by experiment that new-laid

eggs rubbed over with grease or oil will keep fresh for a long time, and commends this method to country-women when eggs are plentiful; for, as he says, 'such a work will never take up much of their time, it will cost them hardly anything, especially if they will use common fat, or butter not over delicate.' He is the apostle, too, of hygienic conditions. 'A poultry-yard is not necessarily dirty as one might be apt to think: uncleanliness is very far from being essential to it.' Nor is the study of heredity neglected among his philosophical amusements. By means of reciprocal crosses between rumpless birds and birds with normal tails, and between birds with and without an extra toe, he proposes to throw light upon the part played by either sex in the transmission of characters. Indeed, he states that he had made such experiments, and promises the results in another memoir. It is a matter for deep regret that this promised work seems never to have been published.

Réaumur's contribution was a remarkable one, for alone among his contemporaries he envisaged a great industry, and moreover suggested some of the means by which it might be fostered. Though he had not grasped the idea of improvement in egg production by the method of selective breeding, he nevertheless recognises that some hens lay better than others, and advocates keeping these for preference. In so far as it went this was a definite step in the right direction.

The main thesis in Réaumur's book, and in the writings of other French authors during the latter part of the eighteenth century, was that the fowl, already a source of some profit, could be made to yield a very much greater one. Yet in spite of the translation of Réaumur's book it is some time before we find any response to this movement in England. It was not until 1815 that there appeared in this country a native work on the fowl in Bonington Moubray's *Treatise on Domestic Poultry*. The real name of the author is stated to have been Laurence, and a later writer hints that he used a pseudonym because the keeping of poultry was not at that time regarded as a reputable occupation. Moubray's work is definitely practical, and he states in his preface that he has 'avoided scientific detail, and addressed plain understandings in the plainest language, aiming at utility solely.' He had read Réaumur, and was evidently imbued with the idea that the fowl might become a greater source of profit than was the case. In its general scope the book does not show any great advance on Markham, save that the author has a firmer touch and is evidently writing from practical experience. It is of interest to find that the two fresh breeds of fowl mentioned were both imported—the Malay from the East, and the Polish from France, where its unusual appearance, together with the beauty

of the plumage in its several varieties, had attracted much attention.

Moubray's book was well received, and the fact that it ran to five editions in nine years suggests that the people of this country were at last becoming alive to the profitable side of the fowl. This, however, was probably not the only reason for the sale of the book. Moubray's guiding idea was that the country house should be as far as possible self-supporting, and as each succeeding edition was called for he added a fresh section on some other branch of rural economy. By the time the eighth edition was reached, in 1842, we find this treatise on poultry containing also 'The management of swine, milch cows and bees; with instructions for the private brewery, on cider, perry, and British wine making.' It is possible that the British public was as interested in British wine as in British poultry.

The successive editions of Moubray do, however, bring out one point, which is that the number of recognised breeds of fowls was gradually increasing during this period. The Spanish fowl is chronicled in an early edition, and it turned out to be a valuable acquisition, being a non-sitter and a good layer of large eggs. Later came the Bolton Bays, subsequently known as Hamburghs, which were smaller birds and prolific layers. Doubtless these two breeds helped many to realise that the keeping of fowls for eggs might be profitable. That more interest was being taken in the subject is evidenced by the appearance of Dickson's *Poultry* in 1838, and of the first little popular handbook in Peter Boswell's *Poultry-Yard*, which came out in 1840 and rapidly ran through several editions. This gradual quickening of interest was shortly to crystallise out in a sudden and striking manner.

The impulse came from China in the form of the so-called Cochin-China fowl. Had this bird arrived in the ordinary way probably little notice would have been taken of it. But its advent as a gift to a Queen, even Victoria herself, ensured for it publicity, and its own rather unusual features did the rest. For it was a large yellowish bird of unusual size and colour, with feathers growing down its legs. Moreover, it laid a brown egg, and was of a very quiet and docile disposition. Although a sitting breed, it often laid very well during the intervals of brooding, and this probably gave rise to the exaggerated tales of its laying powers which rapidly gained currency. Everyone was anxious to obtain some of these wonderful birds. Her Majesty acted most generously in the matter, and showed that she had the welfare of her faithful subjects at heart by commanding the distribution of eggs and birds from the Royal Poultry Farm to quarters in which they might be expected to prove of the greatest service. To the Cochin, or Shanghae, as it was sometimes called, must in large measure be

ascribed the rise of the poultry show. It is true that the experiment of a poultry show was made some time in the early 'forties at the Zoological Gardens in Regent's Park, but it was poorly supported. The coming of the Cochins changed all this. While they were in the ascendant everybody flocked to see them, and by the time their glory was dimmed the poultry show had become firmly established as a British institution. Its influence on the poultry industry can hardly be overrated, for although in some ways it was baneful, in others it contributed, and still contributes, most valuable service in making known to poultry people the latest economies in feeding, housing, and all the varied appliances on a poultry farm.

Meanwhile fabulous prices were given for fine Cochins, even up to 100*l.* for a single bird; all excellent publicity. But, as in most things of the sort, the collapse of the Cochin mania was even more rapid than its rise. Starting in 1846–47, it came to an end in the early 'fifties. Nevertheless it had served a purpose by educating the public in the potentialities of the fowl. Not only were great numbers of people brought into direct contact with all manner of unsuspected and attractive breeds at the shows, but a flood of literature was poured out for them to suit all tastes and purses, from little shilling handbooks to large expensive works embellished with elegant and highly coloured plates. Though the Cochin subsided into an ordinary fowl after its brief and hectic reign, it had stimulated an interest in poultry generally which was never afterwards lost. Many took to keeping them who would probably never have touched them had it not been for the mania, and a more widespread knowledge of the bird and its ways, though at times secured at considerable cost, laid the foundation upon which a progressive industry could arise. But before it could get under way it was to be temporarily side-tracked in a curious manner.

Out of the Cochin came the 'show,' and out of the show came the 'fancy.' One of the most marked characteristics of the English people is their love of a well-bred thing well turned out, and in the show this inborn trait found a natural outlet. In the competitive spirit, too, the show fostered another deeply seated natural instinct. Prizes were awarded to those whose birds were decreed by the judges to approach most closely to an ideal standard laid down by the experts in conclave. Since the standard could be concerned only with external visible points, it was with these alone that the fancier dealt. Perfection of form and feather, and, above all, that intangible thing which men call 'style,' were the qualities by which the awards of the judges were conditioned. The best birds were those approximating most closely to the ideal standard, itself a thing of gradually shifting fashion, and all the

while it was dunned into the ear of the public that the only wa to succeed with poultry was to buy the best birds. Unfortunatel the public wanted eggs, and the best birds in the shows were fa from being the best producers. In this respect the fancy did the growing industry a bad turn, but in another it performed for it unconsciously, a great service.

It came about in this way. In perfecting the points for whic he was striving the fancier used selective breeding. By pickin out individual birds for mating together he was able to brin about an exaggeration in many of the points of the breed he was 'improving,' and by so doing he often effected a great change in the general appearance of the breed. Thus out of the Cochin itself, a rather ungainly, large, gaunt creature, was evolved stockier bird so heavily clothed as to present the appearance of a big feathery cushion. About the time that this was taking place Darwin was busy collecting material to illustrate his thesis o artificial selection as the main cause of evolution in domestic animals. Through Tegetmeier, the well-known poultry expert and others he was in touch with the poultry fancy, and when his work on *Animals and Plants under Domestication* appeared in 1868 the chapter on the fowl figured prominently in his argument. The fancier received his due as a creative artist, since he was utilising for the formation of his varieties that same method o selection which was used by Nature in the evolution of species. In those mid-Victorian days distinguished scientific names, such as those of Darwin and Huxley, carried great weight, and there can be little doubt that the publication of Darwin's book added considerable prestige to the fancy.

For the industry, however, it did a good deal more. In proclaiming that any quality could be enhanced by intelligent selection it led eventually to the application of selective breeding to those points of the fowl with a utilitarian value. In their enthusiasm for novelty and fancy points breeders had lost sight of the fact that the strength of the fowl's position in the modern community lies in her capacity for profit. Great as were the artistic triumphs of the fancier, these had been too often secured by the sacrifice of egg production and of stamina. This led to a good deal of dissatisfaction among the more commercially minded of those who kept poultry for eggs rather than to win at shows and to sell their stock at enhanced prices to others with the same objective. Well-grounded and rational dissatisfaction generally leads to something being done, and in this case it led to the idea of applying selective breeding, so successful in respect of fancy points, to increasing the egg production of the hen. One of the first to advocate this course was Lewis Wright in his *Illustrated Book of Poultry*, which began to appear in 1872. He

recommended that only eggs from the best layers should be set, and stated that if this course were persisted in it should lead to a rise in the general average of production per hen. Further—and this was an important point—he advised that only those cockerels should be used for breeding purposes which were themselves the sons of good layers. The advice was taken, and with it the first great step in the development of the modern industry.

Although the method of selective breeding for egg production had come to stay, its application was at first attended with some difficulty. To single out the individual layer of each egg among even a few birds was not easy, and in quite a small flock it became almost impossible. Owing to these practical difficulties the method of selective breeding for egg production did not at first receive the attention it deserved. Fortunately for the industry a simple mechanical invention cleared the way for further progress. This was the trap-nest, a simple device by which the hen was confined to the nest in which she had laid until she was liberated. By this means each bird could be credited with the eggs that she had laid, and an annual record obtained for every hen. History has not handed down the name of the original inventor of the trap-nest. We only know that it was first used in America sometime in the 'nineties; but whoever devised it has deserved well of the industry in this country also.

By simplifying the manner of making records the trap-nest led to the laying competition, an important feature of the modern poultry world. Organised and controlled by independent institutions and societies, these laying tests are to the industry what the show is to the fancy. There are various classes for different breeds, for individual birds, for small flocks, etc., and the birds entered remain on the test ground for practically the whole year, during which their production is carefully recorded. Interest is stimulated by the publication of monthly reports showing the position of the various entries to date. These laying tests are well supported, for, apart from the often substantial awards received by the winners, the breeder whose birds do consistently well has found that there is an increased demand for his stock. At one time there was a danger that increase in number might lead to diminution in size, but this is now discounted by revised methods of scoring values. To-day size of egg as well as mere number is taken into account.

As a result of all this the hen in general has become a far more efficient egg machine than she ever was in the past, and the ill effects brought about by the earlier efforts of the fancy have now been shaken off. There is still room for improvement, and no doubt improvement will come. Abnormally high production

has, however, not infrequently led to a decrease in stamina: though possibly this might be better put by saying that the stamina of the average hen is often unequal to the intense physiological activity demanded by very high production. To prevent the loss of so valuable a quality there is a tendency to close inbreeding in these highly productive strains. The sequel is not infrequently a delicacy of constitution, evidenced by a higher percentage of eggs that fail to hatch and by an increased mortality in the chick stages. For this reason many who keep pullets for egg production prefer to make use of first-cross birds, which, as in other classes of farm stock, are generally better doers and more hardy. It is important to understand that by first-cross birds are meant birds produced by crossing pure breeds, not mere mongrels. Though the idea was by no means a new one, its systematic use was first advocated in 1882 by William Cook, of Orpington, the originator of the well-known breed of that name. The method has the undoubted advantage that such birds are generally hardier than pure-bred ones; nor are their productive powers inferior provided that they are produced by crossing breeds of high fecundity. It has a further great advantage in that crossing allows of the use of sex-linkage, a feature to which we shall recur later. Though at present far more eggs are produced by pure-bred than by first-cross birds, it is likely that this state of affairs will be reversed in the not distant future.

While on the subject of egg production we may allude briefly to a point of commercial importance connected with it, namely, the preservation of eggs. As everybody knows, hens lay better at some seasons than at others. Fresh eggs are more abundant in the spring and early summer than in the autumn and winter. The higher winter prices have stimulated the breeder to produce pullets which will come on to lay in October or November, and new-laid eggs are now more easily to be had in the colder months. For various reasons, however, they must always be scarcer at this time of the year, and Réaumur long ago suggested that it would pay the producer to preserve his spring and summer surplus and sell in the season of scarcity. Since his day many preservatives have been tried, one of the most successful being 'water glass' (sodium silicate), by means of which millions of eggs are now treated annually. For larger installations lime water was at one time used, but cold storage is now taking its place. The possibility of obtaining reasonably fresh eggs at a reasonable cost throughout the year has proved a stimulus to consumption, and adequate methods of preservation have stabilised prices, relieving the industry from the incubus of over-production at particular periods.

We may now turn to another keystone of the industry, namely,

artificial incubation; and in this must be included not only the actual hatching, but also the equally difficult process of rearing the chicks through their early stages. Artificial incubation has been practised by the Egyptians from time immemorial, but their methods depend largely for their success on the peculiarities of their climate. Though the Romans tried to extract their secret from the Egyptians, they do not seem to have succeeded, but there are some diverting remarks in Pliny on hatching by the warmth of the human body. With the Renaissance interest became reawakened, and we find several princes, notably Alfonso II. of Naples and Charles VIII. of France, instituting experiments on artificial hatching. Their example, as was inevitable in those days, was followed by some of the nobles of the court, but it was not regarded as more than a new and harmless way of amusing the great. When the novelty wore off and the great were no longer amused, the process occasionally attracted the attention of the curious, among whom was Richard Bradley, the versatile Cambridge Professor of Botany in the early part of the eighteenth century. In a little work published in 1726, and entitled *The Country Gentleman and Farmer's Monthly Director*, he gives a brief account of his experiments, and also makes mention of others by 'the late Mr. Darby, a curious gardner at Hoxton.' Meanwhile, the eastward expansion of France's influence in the eighteenth century brought her into closer contact with Egypt, and the renewed interest in artificial incubation, this time as a possible source of national wealth, led to the celebrated experiments of Réaumur already alluded to. Thenceforward the matter was never allowed to drop for any length of time until a satisfactory solution of its difficulties had been reached. Réaumur, like his French successors Bonnemain, Dubois, Copineau, etc., was successful in hatching healthy chicks as well as in rearing them, but in every case the apparatus required too much care and attention to become a practical asset. As Moubray, who tried Réaumur's process, remarked, 'No person will attempt artificial hatching but from the motive of mere curiosity, and that motive must indeed be powerful, to carry one through the endless labour and attention required.' Equally unsuccessful from the practical point of view were the eccaleobion of Burnell and the hydro-incubators of Cantelo and Minasi, all of which made their appearance in this country during the middle period of last century. Throughout, the trouble was the same. Though the machine would hatch provided it were properly looked after, the looking after was so tedious and exacting a business as to discourage any but the most enthusiastic. The hydro-incubator, for example, necessitated the removal of a considerable bulk of water several times a day and its replacement by a similar

quantity heated to a particular temperature. It was too much to expect of a busy man that he should get up in the small hours of the morning for weeks on end to attend to his incubator.

But in 1879 the position underwent a dramatic change when Charles Hearson brought out a simple device for the automatic regulation of the temperature. It worked, and thenceforward the incubator was as trustworthy as the hen. Through it the industry was at last able to exploit to the full the immense natural fecundity of the hen, improved as it had been by the method of selective breeding. Moreover, the success of the incubator stimulated experiments on the most economical ways of rearing during the earlier stages, and to-day the various difficulties have been so far overcome that the mothering hen is almost an anachronism.

The success of the artificial process has also led to a further industrial specialisation, namely, to what is known as the day-old chick trade. As in the ancient Egyptian method, there is a marked tendency for the operations of hatching and rearing to become distinct in the sense of being carried out by two distinct sets of workers. Speaking generally, the larger the plant the lower is the cost of hatching per egg. Further, it was found by experience that newly hatched chicks travel well before they need food, *i.e.*, for about thirty-six hours after hatching. During that period they can stand the shock of travel even better than can the egg. Hence for those who require relatively small numbers for rearing it is more economical to dispense altogether with incubators, and to purchase day-old chicks from the large hatcheries, which may have an annual production of half a million or even more.

These great hatching machines are, of course, supplied with special devices for the regulation of air, heat and moisture, but it is doubtful if they would have come into existence had not the smaller incubator proved itself a success through Mr. Hearson's invention. Owing to the magnitude and complexity of up-to-date plants hatching and rearing are fast becoming branches of engineering; and, indeed, the up-to-date hen, herself an egg machine, may be said to be more engineered than hatched into the world.

Still, the poultry people have had to look at the hen, not only as a mere machine, but as a living creature with her likes and dislikes, her special merits and peculiar failings. Experts in nutrition are investigating the rations on which she thrives best: experts on diseases are busy with her parasites both large and small, inside and out. Much is yet to be learned in these directions, but there can be little doubt that such work, through the avoidance of losses now reckoned as inevitable, will

eventually encourage greater consumption by further cheapening the egg.

In tracing the development of the industry we have laid stress on selective breeding and artificial incubation as the corner-stones upon which it is founded, and in conclusion we may devote a few paragraphs upon another piece of knowledge which is likely to exert considerable influence upon it in the near future. This is the principle of what is known as *sex-linkage*. Nearly a quarter of a century ago the late Professor Doncaster drew attention to a peculiar phenomenon in heredity exhibited by some moths which he was breeding. The gist of it was that when certain colour varieties were crossed in a particular way the sons all resembled the mother, while the daughters were all like the father. By Bateson this was termed 'criss-cross' inheritance, and he showed that it was also true for certain crosses in the poultry with which experiments were then being undertaken in Cambridge. These experiments were being made purely for the sake of elucidating the laws of heredity, and they led to the formulation of the law of sex-linkage in 1908. At the time there was no suspicion that this law would turn out to have any economic importance, and for more than a decade it was regarded by the few people in the poultry world who chanced to hear about it as a mere scientific curiosity. Not until 1919 was it pointed out by a man of science that this bit of seemingly irrelevant knowledge might have an important bearing on the industry.

Breeders are well aware that the down colours of chicks vary considerably, and are generally typical for definite breeds. This, however, had attracted little interest, and even in the most elaborate works on poultry it is rare to find any mention of the particular type of down colour with which the chick hatches. It is a feature that is soon obscured by the growth of the feathers, and it is feathers that matter to the fancier. But a scientific man noticed that chicks with certain types of down always grew into birds with certain types of plumage, *i.e.*, the type of plumage eventually to develop was already proclaimed by the nature of the down in the newly hatched chick. This may perhaps be made clearer by considering a particular case. The ground colour, as distinct from the markings, of the plumage of certain breeds is orange or yellowish red, while in other breeds, which may have similar markings, the ground colour is white. The former are known as 'golds' and the latter as 'silvers.' Silver and gold form a pair of characters exhibiting sex-linkage in heredity. When a silver hen is mated with a gold cock, the sons are all silvers like the mother, while the daughters, like the father, are all golds. A study of the downs of the chicks showed that this colour distinction was already here apparent. In the former the

ground colour is yellowish-white, while in the latter it is light orange-brown. Hence by the use of sex-linkage in appropriate crosses, it is possible, by means of the down colour, to allot its sex with certainty to every chick at hatching. The breeder can now sell day-old chicks with a guarantee as to sex, and, to judge from the advertisements in the poultry Press, this is now being done to a large and increasing extent. The farmer and the backyarder who want pullets for egg production can now purchase day-old chicks with a certainty that there will be no cockerels among them ; and, on the other hand, the man who goes in for table poultry can buy day-old cockerels, the larger and more profitable sex for this purpose, and can force them along by appropriate feeding in a way that would be injurious to pullets intended for the production of eggs.

R. C. PUNNETT

BUSH-LORE FOR THE AIRMAN

WERE you an airman flying one of the long new routes across the vast bushveld of Africa, what would you do if you 'crashed' or made a forced landing in some desolate spot in the wilds of the bush, in the heart of the untracked *nyika* scrub? Lost in the bushveld, maybe 1000 miles from the nearest white town, and possibly many days' gruelling trek to the nearest native kraals, of whose whereabouts you might be totally ignorant, how would you find your way out of the pathless forest, through the nearly impenetrable scrub, find food and water, escape from wild beasts, and escape, too, that grim dread of the lost man in the bush—'bush madness'?

This is one of the great problems of air travel in Africa to-day. The long trans-African air routes traverse immense tracts of lifeless bushveld, uninhabited by natives, roadless, pathless, clothed in grim, grey miles of stunted thorn, the haunt only of the lion, the hyena and rhinoceros, and the deadly tsetse fly. Immense uninhabited forests in the depths of which no white man's foot, and possibly no black man's either, has yet trodden, vast marshes, treacherous and wayless, shrivelling in the weltering scorch of the African sun, enormous waterless *mibuga* or thorn deserts, breeding haunts of the locust, but habitat only of shy and scattered bushman tribes or wandering bands of murderous nomads, lie below the airman's route as he flies from the Cape to Cairo, from Khartum to Kisumu, or even on that almost suburban 'flip' from Durban to the Rand.

A hundred and one mishaps may force a pilot down in any of these wild places, with a crippled 'bus,' miles from human aid or habitation, in the midst of the perils of the untamed bush. His risk is greater than that of the big-game hunter or trader, or even the old-time explorer. Such men trek on foot, by ox-wagon, horse or camel, with their safari baggage humped along the trail on native porters' heads, or on the backs of pack-beasts. They trek slowly, camping every night; and at the worst, if they get 'bushed,' they are never more than a day's trekking from their camp of that day or the previous night. That, true, is far enough,

You can be 'bushed' within eyeshot of your camp; and I have been utterly 'bushed' in a forest not five minutes' walk from my tent. Once, too, I saw one of the world's greatest big-game hunters walk through a patch of grass and round an ant-hill and lose himself so thoroughly that he yelled at the top of his voice for his tent-boy; yet, as the hunter well knew, he was not more than twenty paces from the camp fire. That is far enough to die in; for one need only 'panic' and walk a few more hundred yards into the bush in the *wrong* direction to get lost for good and all. But the airman takes the long chance. In the morning he may be in Nairobi's teeming streets; by midday he may be flying over the immense trackless forests of North Kenya, or across the Sudan swamp and desert, 500 miles away. He leaves no trail behind, no well-marked camps to which he can trek back in the span of a few hours, should he 'crash.' Desert, forest, swamp, and veld below him, he 'crashes' in an unknown land, possibly 100, possibly 1000 miles from his last 'camp'; there is no trekking back for him to the place where his porters trod the trail, to the place where the previous night's camp fire still scurries in warm windswept ash. He is 'bushed' as never men trekking the wild trails of Africa have been 'bushed' before. The risk is one to which all flying men in Africa are fully alive. To some extent they can depend upon their radio transmitters to send out messages for aid should they 'crash' in the wilds. As an additional safeguard the South African air-mail service aeroplanes will in future carry homing pigeons which can be released by the 'bushed' airman to speed news of his plight to town so that a rescue party can be sent out. But such aids only call for help. Until help arrives—and that through several hundred miles of forest, marsh, mountain and bushveld may take weeks—the 'bushed' man must help himself. His plight is black, but not so desperate as it may seem if he is wise to bush-lore, or to what old-timers hard-seasoned to veld trekking call 'bush-law.'

There is, indeed, 'law' in the grim haunts of the wilds by which a man may live, or die. 'Remember your "law,"' an old voertrekker once abjured me, 'and you are little worse "bushed" than you are on trek.' There is much horse-sense in that. On trek one is often compelled to live on the land, to strike out new trails. One can do the same when 'bushed.' Many native tribes, such as the Ngami and Kaukau bushmen of the Cape, their cousins the 'Anu of Tanganyika, and the Dorobo of Kenya, live almost entirely on wild fruits, roots, and berries harvested from the bush and on the meat of game and birds which they hunt and trap. Food is not the great problem of the lost man: few 'bushed' men die of

starvation; what they die of is exhaustion and fear. The lost man's main needs are water and wits: if he finds the one and uses the other, all Africa is not so vast that he can be lost for good in its wilds.

To the 'crashed' airman his derelict aeroplane is his safeguard, for the first rule of the 'bushed' man is to stay 'bushed' for a bit. The tenderfoot is all too apt to panic and rush frantically through forest and scrub in a desperate effort to hit a trail, and, failing, falls victim to thirst, exhaustion, or beast in the trackless ways. The more seasoned trekker marks the spot where he found himself lost; there he at least knows where he is, but if he panics through the wilds only the demons of the bushveld shall tell where he shall be when in despair he stops. The airman's crashed aeroplane thus marks his base camp. From it he can cast around for a trail, blazing his track as he goes by swathing a path through the scrub with a machete or axe, or, failing such handy weapons, by beating the scrub down with a stick, keeping the trail blazed straight by breaking down branches, or tying rags, bits of paper, or bundles of grass or leaves to branches or sticks and setting them up as bearing marks. Having set up one mark at his base, the lost man goes ahead and sets up another not too far off, and then, keeping the two in line, sets up a third also in line. This takes time, but no trouble is too great to blaze the new trail straight. At all costs the 'bushed' man must thwart his natural tendency to trek in a circle, for that round trail has only one end, 'bush madness.'

The old-timer usually treks downhill first, for that is where water flows. If he finds a waterhole or stream, he camps beside it; if not, he treks back to his 'base' before dusk, making sure of his starting-off point for the following dawn. He will not die of thirst in a night. His chief concern is to build himself a fire. Fuel in the bush is plentiful—dry tinderwood, twigs, and half-rotten boughs; and a fire quickly made is the 'bushed' man's best friend. The old-timer builds it in a clearing, with no big branches overhead from which leopards might leap, or snakes or scorpions, irritated by the heat and smoke, might drop upon his neck. He cuts down a circle of thorn-bush and drags the scrub in to build a boma or wall round his fire; inside this boma he can sit in safety if his thorn-bush is piled to a height of about 5 feet by 3 feet or 4 feet through. Lions, leopards, and other night marauders may come prowling around it, but they will not risk the leap into the frightening glare of the fire inside, nor will they risk thorn-punctured paws or scratches on their hides by trying to burrow through this wall of spike and prickle. The fire, too, is more than a safeguard. Only those who have spent a night alone

in the wilds know the companionable comfort of its warm, smouldering glow. Its flare in the dark sky is a signal which may call the aid of natives in near-by but unsuspected kraals. It can provide an effective rocket alarm. In the bush, where the scrub is only head high, blazing brands can be hurled into the air. They can be seen miles away on a dark night, and when natives are about never fail to bring them to the rescue. In the forest brands cannot be thrown high enough. The old-timer cuts himself a pliant sapling, strips green bark in long strings from another, plaits it roughly and makes a bow. From straight sticks in the scrub he cuts arrows, knots tufts of dry grass round them, sets them alight in his fire, and then shoots the blazing torches high into the night sky. Unless one is 'bushed' utterly in the wilds where no natives live, it is not long before one hears the throb of an alarm drum in some black kraal. Then is the time to answer—by firing flares, by shots or calls. Loud shouting is exhausting and does not carry so far as might be thought. A better way is to clasp one's hands and blow through one's upright thumbs. With practice a loud owl-like hooting noise which carries a great distance can be made; or if one has a shot-gun one can blow across its barrel mouths. This gives a vigorous trumpet call, which is more easily placed by searchers than a shot. Shots often echo queerly.

At the worst the 'bushed' man may find that he has no ordinary means of making fire; his matches may be lost or wet. If he has a gun he can easily get a blaze by taking the shot or bullet from a cartridge and firing the gun into a small heap of tinder splinters or dry grass. Failing a gun, a bottle or a polished metal object can be used as a burning glass by day, or as a last resource sparks can be struck into crumbled tinder by hammering at a quartz rock with the nailed heel of one's boot, or by chipping two granite, flint, or quartzite rocks together.

Having made his thorn boma and his fire, the 'bushed' man can spend his night in safety. He need fear little from wild beasts; leopards, lions, hyenas, and jackals may prowl, growling, moaning, yapping, round his boma at a cautious distance. But the most simple precautions will keep them at bay. A piece of crumpled crinkling paper flapping on a branch in the wind is a thing so suspicious and mysterious that no lion will venture near it, unless he be a desperate man-killer, when, indeed, nothing but a well-placed shot is likely to keep him off. Even the ticking of a watch is to the wild beasts of the bush a sound so inauspicious and unusual that they give it a wide berth. The 'bushed' man must, however, take care not to camp down on an elephant path or a rhino track. That would be asking for trouble.

Having settled his 'base' his next concern is water and food. Water is to be found in the most unlikely places. In many apparently arid sandy tracts in the bush and in dry riverbeds which seem utterly devoid of moisture abundant water may often be found by digging down into the sand for a few inches. The African bush, too, is studded in many parts with huge gaunt-limbed baobab trees, with immense squat contorted boles. These trees are veritable water tanks, for their trunks are often hollow, and in them collects the dew and rain which falls on the wide, broad spread of their fat branches. Natives in Africa tap these trees like cisterns, driving a wooden peg like a spigot through the bole, drawing what water they need and replacing the peg as a bung. Even in the 'waterless' desert grow cactuses which store water in the driest droughts. Thirsty nomad tribes cut the 'hands' from these cactuses, slice off the top, and drink the water from its natural cup. Drinking to quench the thirst, it must be remembered, is not a matter of swallowing much water. What one needs is a mouthful, to be held in the mouth, to soak the tongue, moisten the lips, and soothe the throat. Waterholes and streams, however, are not so scarce in the wilds that the lost man need despair of finding one or the other if he remembers always that water flows downhill. In rocky pockets in valley bottoms unsuspected pools are often found, as well as in forest dells, and even in rock and earth pockets in the desert. Where wild game is plentiful there is water, and the 'bushed' man who has an eye for spoor may pick up the evening water-trek trail of the buck herd. Tsetse fly is also a sign of water in the bush, arid though it may seem; and the lost man wise in bush-lore will not fail to note any flights of wild ducks, geese, egrets, or cranes. They fly in the evening from water to water on a well-winged air route. Water the lost man must have, and that within a day of being 'bushed.' He can live without food for a week; but thirst will kill him as surely as snakebite, if he cannot kill it.

Of food, if he knows the larders of the bush, he has, if not an abundance, at least plenty to keep him going. The man who has lived for a while amongst natives will know numerous wild vegetables, spinach, cucumbers, and potato-like tubers. The forest, too, is full of wild fruits, small, but tasty and sustaining, such as figs, palm nuts, wild orange and quaint wild plums, and "apples" known to the blacks as kunazi, chokochoko, omuandi and omuve; and there are numerous roots, bulbs, berries, and nuts. Even in the driest bushveld mingoko tubers—succulent, sweet and filling—can be dug. There is always some game in the wilds to provide a feast of meat, and no great dexterity is needed to trap it. If one has a gun one can, of course, shoot a sizable buck,

build a green wood fire, and make enough biltong to last for a month. But without a gun much game can be got to the pot, or, if you have no pot, to a calabash or baobab gourd lined on the outside with clay. Small buck such as duikers can often be brought down bushman fashion by the dexterous throw of a knobbed stick. Game birds such as guinea-fowl, sand-grouse, and quail often abound in the bush, and may be readily caught by a simple native trap, consisting of a springy sapling to which is fastened a running noose of plaited fibre. A small circle of pegs is driven into the ground by the trailside; the noose is slipped over these pegs and held in place, taut against the pull of the bent sapling, by a trip-stick. A few grains, berries, or nuts serve as bait for the birds, which come to eat, dislodge the trip-stick, and are snared as the released sapling springs up, drawing the noose tight round the neck and suspending them in mid-air.

Similar nooses can be set in buck runs for small game, or even for big antelope, if one plaits a strong fibre rope. Snares can be set for rock-rabbits and porcupines and over the burrows of iguanas (the big bush lizards), all of which make excellent eating. Even bread can be baked from the pith of baobab fruit ground to flour between two flat stones, and, though somewhat acrid, serves as a palatable chipatti. Honey is plentiful through bush and forest, if one knows where to look for wild-bee hives; from it one can make sweet cakes with tuber or baobab flour, or a wine as invigorating as champagne if one ferments it in a gourd with water. Many insects are quite edible: natives eat enormous quantities of locusts, brown ants, and white queen ants, the latter dug from the south side of the ant-hill, being large, luscious and meaty, often 4 inches long—the bushman's breakfast 'sausage.' When brown ants swarm a good meal of 'salted almonds' can be caught by the simple method of standing a light in a bowl of water, into which the ants will fall in hundreds as they fly to the light. If the 'bushed' man has no lamp he can readily make one out of a baobab or other gourd, filled with buck or lizard fat and fitted with a twisted fibre wick or a strip of cloth torn from his clothing. Often enough when on a hunting trip one is only too glad of such meals and ready-made expedients; indeed, one of the best meals I ever ate was cooked over a bush camp fire on a night when I was lost in the Tendaguru Forest of Tanganyika. It started with an *hors d'œuvres* of grilled brains, passed on to soup, grilled bones, encouraged with wild red pepper (or pilipili hoho, as the blacks call it), and included a roast haunch of beef and a savoury of baked kidneys spiced with cashew nut—all provided by a young eland bull which I was fortunate enough to shoot and by the wild vegetables of the bush. On

that occasion a leopard skull picked up in the bush and filled with eland oil served me as a lamp, a pithy grass stem burning well as a wick. In the same way, from what the bush will provide, beds, tables, chairs, boxes, and even clothing, can be made, as men who have served in African campaigns will know. One of the most comfortable beds is a frame of bamboo or bush poles, thonged across with buckhide and mattressed with grass. It can be made in half an hour; and a banda or pole-and-thatch hut to serve as a bedroom can be built in the bush, giving shelter from rain and sun, in almost as little time.

Given his smattering of bush-lore, some ingenuity, and his all-important water supply, the ' bushed ' airman has almost as good a chance of hitting a native track and getting to a kraal or town as if he were on a straight hunting safari. He must, of course, trek from water to water, or carry a water supply sufficient for a day or so, by improvising bottles out of bamboo, hollowed branches or gourds, or whatever receptacle he can find. He will naturally take advantage of the hilltops to spy out his position. From them he can see a waterhole or river miles away. The water itself may not be visible, but the dark or lush vegetation on its site is almost unmistakable. The smoke of native kraals is also a long-range sign. The crowing of cocks tells at once of a native village, and so, usually, does the presence of crows circling in the sky, for they seldom fly far from the kraals, where garbage and refuse afford them food. For the rest the ' bushed ' man must strike out a straight track. If he has a compass, he can trek by it; if he has none, he can mark his bearings by sticks in the bush, blazed trees in the forest, or by taking a mark on a big kopje or tree on the veld. If he finds a river let him follow it; where rivers flow men live. If he can read the skies the stars and sun can give him compass points. With luck he will hit, perhaps, a cattle trail, or the track of native fuel-cutters or honey-gatherers, or he may hear the distant boom of drum or bellowing of oxen, and so be led to the trail that he seeks and back to human habitation. There are places, of course, in the vast deserts and immense bush where his plight might be hopeless, but they are daily growing fewer as the white man's roads fling out their ribboned arms across the veld. Many of the dangers of to-day will be surmountable to-morrow by the provision of emergency landing-places on the air routes, by improvements in aeroplanes, engines, and radio. At the same time the air services in Africa are devoting close attention to what the old voertrekkers call ' bush-law ' as an asset in the airman's education. The risk of being ' bushed ' is not for him alone to face: it might be you or I, bent on a business or pleasure trip, who might well find ourselves lost in the heart of the African wilds next week or next

month. Flight has brought the bushveld to our doors; but the bushveld is not tamed. We may intrude upon the vast untrodden solitudes of Africa; but we must risk the dangers of her wilds where her mysterious brooding Spirit wields the 'law' by which man may live.

W. Hichens.

PELAGIA OF ANTIOCH [1]

If St. Augustine had been a convinced Platonist, if the richest nature in Christendom could have accepted that divine doctrine of reconciliation between body and soul, mediæval thought in Europe might have graven itself different channels. But for him there was no compromise possible. Far more sensuously gifted than St. Paul, he is by so much the sterner ascetic of the two. The music of the Ambrosian chant which had dissolved his own soul in the church at Milan he hesitates to allow, lest any alloy of the senses should taint the *actus intellectus*: he can lose himself for a moment in marvelling at the subtlety of memory that can distinguish the remembered breath of lilies and of violets: 'I will pass beyond my memory that I may come at Thee.' He cries out to 'Queen Light,' light that pursues him, from whose beauty he can find no rest, not even that which comes when silence falls after sweet voices, and his speech of it is the speech of an artist and a lover; but he turns from it, gliding past him, the dangerous sweetness that makes life too poignant: 'Late, late have I found Thee, O Beauty most old and yet most new. . . . Thou didst flame in Thy splendour of fire, and didst scatter my blindness. . . . Thou didst touch me, and I burned for Thy peace.'

> There is in God—some say—
> A deep but dazzling darkness . . .
> O for that Night! where I in Him
> Might live invisible and dim!

To these high and precipitous places mediæval thought struggled after him, though not all saw the vision that rewarded him. 'Spirit must brand the flesh that it may live'; and so Gregory the Great speaks of a young girl as 'fair after the putridity of the flesh,' and the saints too often counsel a man to quench the lust of the eyes by flaying Beauty of its skin and sickening himself

[1] The *Vita S. Pelagiæ, Meretricis* is in the first book of the *Vitæ Patrum*, the *Lives of the Desert Fathers* which Cassiodorus and Benedict commended to their monks to read, and some of which were written by St. Jerome himself. The text used for the translation is that of the *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. lii., which is a re-editing of Rosweyde's text of 1615. The original exists in various manuscripts, notably those of St. Lambert of Liège and St. Omer.

with the ugliness beneath, than by seeking 'that light which by its greatness takes up all the room.' Meredith speaks somewhere of the spiritual collapse that follows the cherishing of a false ideal of life in youth: the collapse of Europe in the latest Middle Age was great enough, till Neo-Platonism redeemed it from the slough in which uncompromising idealism and uncompromising materialism are like enough to meet. Yet the finer lust of the spirit against the flesh remains: in Petrarch, reasoning with St. Augustine; in Sidney, at thirty the mewed eagle,

> Desiring naught but how to kill Desire

till at last he soars into the supreme dominion of

> Leave me, O Love, that reachest but to dust.

It is in Shakespeare himself, one among many moods, yet curiously recurrent; perplexed and reflective in the *Sonnets*:

> Poor soul, the centre of my sinful earth . . .
> . . . I do betray
> My nobler part to my gross body's treason.
>
> . . . The expense of spirit in a waste of shame
> Is lust in action.

fierce disgust in *Hamlet, Timon, Lear*; sick disgust in *Troilus and Cressida*. The branding of the flesh remains—a counsel of perfection, it is true, but an admitted perfection.

There were, of course, reactions, and not only the natural revolt of young blood and hot heads:—

> Think you He'll have such fools
> To sit on His gay stools?

As early as the twelfth century, in a collection of student letters that may come from the school of the great humanist Bernard Sylvestris of Tours, there is an odd triangle of correspondence—a querulous letter from the soul to its Creator, complaining of the squalid habits of its housemate, the body; a firm letter from the Creator to the body, bidding it mend its ways; and a reply of astonishing hardihood. 'Made of slimy earth was I, and is it matter for gaping that I find earth sweet? . . . The soul blames me: rather to tell the truth might He be blamed who made me of such stuff.' But the subtlest, most powerful argument against asceticism, the recognition of the Nemesis that waits on the absolute denial of the body, comes later, in the Morality of *Wisdom*, and, though it is put in the mouth of Lucifer, there is no attempt to confute it, unless by the logic of consequences. There is 'great drede,' says Lucifer,

in following the contemplative life, and this is the reason: that when men have wasted themselves by abstinence, . . .

> Then febyll ther wyttis and fallyn to fondnes.
> Sum into despeyer and sum to madnes. . . .
> Who clymyt hye, hys fall grete ys.

Shakespeare saw it, and began to work upon it in the character of Angelo; but *Measure for Measure* is written in an ugly mood, when neither good nor evil has much savour: Victor Hugo saw it in *Notre Dame*, in the face of the archdeacon watching the execution in the Place de Grève. With the end of the century came Freud's first study of hysteria, and the release of the raven brood of inhibitions upon mankind; but the creative imagination had outstripped the clinic. *Thaïs*, published in 1890, is the deadliest indictment of asceticism in European literature. Spirit may brand the flesh, but beware lest the branding become a cancer, to the destroying of body and soul.

The attack is the deadlier because of its all but divine comprehension. There was to the last something in Anatole France of the little boy who was found stuffing horsehair from the seat of an armchair inside his little shirt, so that when he grew up he might write upon his cards, not, like papa, 'Membre de l'Institut,' but 'Member of the Calendar of Saints.' For goodness that did not vaunt itself and was not puffed up, St. Maël, preaching to the penguins, Palemon planting his lettuce, the Blessed Anthony, he had a profound tenderness: he follows their least gesture with the attentive and innocent eye of a robin. No man ever made the saints so lovable: his very malice is a caress. But in the *Vita S. Thaïdis* he had the crudest of the *Lives of the Desert Fathers*, and in Paphnutius the harshest figure. It is a hard heart that will not soften to the Blessed Anthony talking to the satyr in the desert and eating the palm fruit the good creature brought him, or to old Abram getting himself up as an elderly military gentleman and leaving his desert for the brothel in the town, to find his little broken niece and bring her home. Paphnutius himself has a kind of granite greatness at the first: the gaunt figure reasoning of the wrath of God with the loveliest courtesan of Alexandria is well enough. But Paphnutius shutting up his penitent in a foul cell, and striking down her timid demurrer, with a *Digna es, that its* filth was a match for herself, forbidding her to take the name of God upon her polluted lips or lift up her hands to him, but only dare to pray 'Thou who hast created me, have mercy upon me,' is a figure for the vengeance of God and man. Two years later he came and took her from her prison, though she clung to it: in a fortnight she was dead. It is a revolting story, and a credit to Anatole France that his gorge rose at it.

But on the next page to the *Vita S. Thaidis* there is another story, the makings of a greater novel than *Thaïs*; and he left it untouched. Perhaps the confession of the great Bishop, 'Tempt not my weakness, for I am a sinful man, serving God,' disarmed him: perhaps he recognised it, in James the Deacon's telling of it, as already a masterpiece, and forbore. It was written in Greek in the fifth century by James the Deacon, and translated into Latin by one Eustochius, who wrote a little quatrain, praying the reader to remember him and his labours. Pelagia is a saint of the Calendar, and has a day, October 8, and hymns for her office; but of Nonnus, who was the hero of the story to James the Deacon, very little is known. His name is signed to one or two conciliar documents: sorely against his will, he was made Bishop of Edessa in 449, in the room of Iba, unjustly deposed, but when the ruling was reversed two years later, and Iba restored, Maximus, patriarch of Antioch, had so great reverence and regard for Nonnus that he maintained him in episcopal dignity, a bishop without a diocese, and seems to have used him as a missionary: hence the conversion of the 30,000 Saracens, of which the devil complains in the text. On Iba's death, in 457, Nonnus was reinstated at Edessa; and it was therefore some time between the years 451 and 457, at a gathering of bishops in Antioch, that Pelagia passed by and drew his eyes after her.

The story was written to be read aloud to the brethren, possibly in the refectory, and James begs for silence, it being, as he says, a story of deep repentance and of great consolation. And so he begins, and already in the first paragraph one knows oneself in the hands of a great novelist. Here is nothing of the wealthy or humble parentage of the saint, her nurture in godliness, and her fall from grace; it is a page out of an ecclesiastic's diary. It is not conscious art. James, *diaconus et peccator*, knew no more that he told a great story than he knew that he and his master had once seen Absolute Beauty, and went the rest of their lives the poorer and the richer for it. But he felt sincerely, this small obscure ecclesiastic, trotting in the shadow of his great bishop, and he told the story even as it happened to himself, so that the reader shares his own astonishment and perplexity and ecstasy.

The Author's Preface

We ought ever to offer great thanks to God, Who desireth not the death of a sinner, but would have all men turn from their sin and live. Hear therefore the miracle that was wrought in our days. It seemed good to me, James the sinner, to write to you, my brethren, that ye might know it, either by listening or reading, and win the mighty aid of its comfort for your souls. For God the compassionate, Who would have no man perish, hath decreed that sins may be atoned for in this world, since in that which is to come there shall be

a just Judgment, wherein every man shall receive according to his works. Now therefore, give me silence, and look upon me with all the intent of your heart, for my story is of a rich repentance.

Chapter I

The most reverend the Bishop of Antioch summoned about him for conference those bishops whose sees were near his own; and so it was that eight bishops came together, and among them that most saintly man of God, Nonnus, my bishop, a man marvellous great and a mighty monk of the monastery which they call the Tabennisiot; but by reason of his incomparable and most gracious way of life he had been reft from the monastery and ordained bishop. So, come together as we were in the aforenamed city, the Bishop thereof appointed us our lodging, in the basilica of the blessed Julian the Martyr. Therein we entered, and then made our way to where the other bishops sat, in front of the door of the basilica.

Chapter II

And as we sat down, certain of the bishops besought my master, Nonnus, that they might have some instruction from his lips; and straightway the good Bishop began to speak to the weal and health of all that heard him. And as we sat there, wondering at the holy wisdom of him, lo! of a sudden, she that was first of the actresses of Antioch passed by: first of the dancers was she, riding upon an ass: and with all fantastic graces did she ride, so decked that naught was seen upon her but gold and pearls and precious stones: the very nakedness of her feet was buried in gold and pearls: and with her was a shining train of young men and maidens, clad in robes of price and with golden torques upon their necks. Some went before and some came after her: and of the beauty and the loveliness of her there could be no wearying for a world of men. And, passing on, she filled the air with the perfume of musk and the fragrance of all scents that are sweetest. And when the bishops saw her so shamelessly ride by, bare of head and shoulder and limb, in pomp so splendid, and not so much as a veil upon her head or on her shoulders, they groaned and turned away their heads, as at great and grievous sin.

Chapter III

But not the most blessed Nonnus: he long and most intently regarded her, and after she had passed by still he gazed and still his eyes went after her. Then, turning his head, he looked round about upon the bishops sitting there. 'Did not,' says he, 'the sight of so great beauty delight you?'

They answered him nothing. And he buried his face upon his knees, and the holy book that he held in his good hands, and his tears fell down upon his breast, and sighing heavily he said again to the bishops, 'Did not the sight of so great beauty delight you?'

And again they could answer nothing. Then said he, 'For verily it greatly delighted me, and well pleased was I with her beauty whom God shall set in presence of His high and terrible seat to judge both us and our episcopate.'

And again he spoke. 'Bethink you, my beloved, how many hours doth that woman spend in her chamber, bathing and adorning herself

that there may be no stain or flaw in all that body's beauty and its wearing, and that she may be a joy to all men's eyes, nor disappoint those paltry lovers of hers that are but for to-day and to-morrow are not? And we who have in heaven the Father Almighty, the immortal Lover, with the promise of rich rewards eternal and beyond all reckoning since eye hath not seen nor ear heard nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive the things that God hath prepared for them that love Him—but what am I to say? With such a pledge, the vision of the Bridegroom, that great and splendid and ineffable face, on which the cherubim dare not look, we care not so much as to wash the filth from our miserable souls, but leave them lying in their squalor.'

Chapter IV

And with that he took me, deacon and sinner, and we made our way to the hospice where a cell had been given us. And going into his own chamber, he flung himself on the paved floor, his face to the ground, and beating his breast he wept, saying, 'Lord Christ, have mercy on a sinful man, and an unworthy, for a single day's adorning of a harlot is far beyond the adorning of my soul. With what countenance can I look upon Thee? With what words shall I be justified in Thy sight? I shall not hide my heart from Thee, Thou knowest its secrets: woe is me, worthless sinner that I am, for I stand at Thine altar, and do not offer Thee the fair soul that Thou requirest. She promised to please men, and kept her word: I have promised to please Thee, and in my sloth have lied. Naked am I in heaven and earth, for I have not done Thy bidding. My hope is not in any good thing that I have done, but in Thy mercy.' Such was his cry and such his lamenting; and vehemently did we keep the feast that day.

Chapter V

But on the day following, which was a Sunday, after we had finished our prayers, the good bishop Nonnus said to me, 'I tell you, brother deacon, I had a dream and am mightily disturbed by it, for I cannot interpret it.' And then he told me that he had seen in his sleep a dove at the horn of the altar, a black dove, stained with filth, and it kept flying about him, and he could hardly bear the ill odour and the squalor of it. 'But it hovered about me, till the prayer for the catechumens was ended. Then when the deacon of the catechumens pronounced the *Procedite*, it was straightway nowhere to be seen. And after the mass for the faithful and the oblation was over, and the congregation dismissed, and I crossing the threshold of the house of God, again came that dove in all its squalor, and again it flew about me. But I stretched out my hand and caught it and plunged it into the stoup of holy water in the porch of the church: and it left all the filth that had clung to it in the water, and rose out of the water white as snow; and flying upwards it vanished in the high air and was lost to my sight.' He finished telling me his dream, Nonnus, God's good bishop, and then took me, and we came to the greater church with the other bishops, and greeted the bishop of the city.

Chapter VI

We went in, and he spoke to all the clergy of the church, sitting there in their stalls: and when celebration and the reading of the Gospel was

over, this same bishop handed the holy Gospel to the most blessed Nonnus and begged him to speak to the people. And he spoke to them the wisdom of God that dwelt in him, with no alloy of artifice or philosophy, naught unfitting, naught of human vanity: but full of the Holy Ghost, he reasoned and admonished the people, speaking from his heart of the judgment to come and the eternal blessedness that is in store. And so stirred were all the people by the words which the Holy Ghost spoke through him that the pavement of the church was wet with their tears.

Chapter VII

It befell, by the guiding of the divine compassion, that to this very church should come that harlot of whom he had spoken to us: and for a marvel, she to whom never had come a thought for her sins nor ever had she been inside a church, was suddenly stricken with the fear of God, as the good Nonnus pleaded with the folk; and she fell to weeping, as despairing of herself, her tears falling in streams, and she in no way able to keep from weeping. So she gave orders to two of her youths, saying, 'Stay in this place, and when the good bishop Nonnus has gone out, follow him and ask where he lodges, and come and tell me.' The young men did as their lady had bidden them: they followed us, and came to the basilica of the Blessed Julian the Martyr, where was our hospice or cell. And then they went back to their lady and said, 'He is lodging in the basilica of the Blessed Julian the Martyr.' Upon that, she straightway sent a diptych by the same two, on which these words were written:

'To Christ's holy disciple, the devil's disciple and a woman that is a sinner. I have heard of your God, that He bowed the heavens and came down to earth, not because of the good men, but that He might save sinners: and that He was so humble that He came near publicans and He on whom the cherubim dare not look kept company with sinners. And you, my lord, who are a great saint, though you have never seen with the eyes of the flesh the Lord Christ Himself, Who showed Himself to that Samaritan woman, and she a harlot, at the well, yet you are a worshipper of Him, for I have heard the talk of the Christians. If you are indeed a disciple of this Christ, spurn me not, desiring through you to see the Saviour, so that through you I may come at the sight of His holy face.'

Then the good bishop Nonnus wrote back to her: 'Whosoever you are you are known unto God, and what your purpose is, and your desire. But this I surely say to you, seek not to tempt my weakness, for I am a man that is a sinner, serving God. If in very deed you have a desire after the divine, and a longing for goodness and faith, and you wish to see me, there are other bishops with me: come, and you shall see me in their company: but you shall not see me alone.' She read it, this harlot, and filled with joy came hurrying to the basilica of the blessed Julian the Martyr, and word was brought to us that she was come. And when the good bishop Nonnus heard it, he called to him the other bishops who were there, and bade her come to him. She came in there, where the bishops were assembled, and she flung herself on the pavement and caught the feet of the blessed Nonnus, saying, 'My lord, I pray you to be like your master the Lord Christ, and show kindness to me and make me a Christian. For, my lord, I am a sea of wickedness and an abyss of evil. I ask to be baptised.'

Chapter VIII

Hardly could the good bishop Nonnus persuade her to rise from his feet: but when she had stood up he said to her, 'The canons of the Church provide that a harlot shall not be baptised, unless she produce certain to go surety for her that she will not fall back into her old sin.'

But on hearing his judgment, she flung herself again on the pavement, and caught the feet of the good Nonnus and washed them with her tears and wiped them with her hair, crying, 'Answer shall you give to God for my soul, and on you shall I charge all the evil of my deeds, if you delay to baptise me in my foul sin. Let you find no portion in God's house with the saints, if you set not my sin far from me. Let you deny God and worship idols, if you do not this day have me born again, bride to Christ and a sacrifice to God.'

Then all the bishops and clergy that were there, seeing her that was so great a sinner utter such things as these in her desire after God, said in wonderment that they had never seen so great faith and desire as in this harlot. And thereupon they sent me, deacon and sinner, to the bishop of the city, that I might tell him the story, and pray his sanctity to send back one of his deaconesses with me. And when he heard me, he rejoiced mightily, saying, 'Verily, good father, such work as this awaited thee: thou shalt be as my mouth.' And he straightway sent with me the lady Romana, chief of the deaconesses. Coming in, she found her still at the feet of the good bishop Nonnus, and hardly could he persuade her to rise from his feet, saying, 'Daughter, arise, that thou mayst be exorcised.' Then he said to her, 'Confess all thy sins.' And she answered, 'If I were to search my whole heart, I could find in me no good thing. For I know my sins, that they are heavier than the sands of the sea: the waters of it are too scant for the weight of my sin. But I trust in your God, that He will loose me from the load of my wrong doing, and will look upon me.'

Then said the good bishop Nonnus, 'Tell me thy name.' She answered, 'My own name was Pelagia, that my father and mother gave me: but the townsfolk of Antioch call me Margarita, because of the pearls wherewith they did jewel my sins. For I was the devil's jewel and his armoury.' Then the good bishop Nonnus again asked her, 'Thine own name is Pelagia?' She answered 'Yea, lord.'

And thereupon the good bishop exorcised and baptised her, and set upon her the sign of the Cross, and gave her the Body of Christ. Her godmother was the holy lady Romana, chief of the deaconesses: and she took her and went to the place for the catechumens, for so long as we should remain there. Then said to me the good bishop Nonnus, 'I tell you, brother deacon, let us rejoice to-day with the angels of God, and take oil beyond our custom in our food, and drink wine with joy of heart, for the salvation of this girl.'

Chapter IX

But suddenly, as we were at our meal, there was the sound of voices as of a man to whom violence is done, the devil shouting and crying, 'Woe is me, for the things I suffer from this decrepit old man! Might not the thirty thousand Saracens have been enough for you, that you snatched from me and baptised, and offered to your God? Might not Heliopolis have been enough for you, that was mine and all the people in

it worshipping me, and you snatched it from me, and offered it as your God? And now thou hast stolen my greatest hope, but I shall have an end to thy machinations. O the evil that blasted wretch hath wrought upon me! Cursed be the day in which thou wast born! Rivers of tears are flooding my poor house, for my hope is gone!' All this did the devil shout aloud, lamenting up and down outside the gate, and all men heard him. And again he would come and cry out to the girl, 'What hast thou done to me, my Lady Pelagia, and dost thou follow my own Judas? For he, crowned with glory and honour and appointed an apostle, betrayed his Master, and so hast thou done to me.' Then the good bishop Nonnus said to her, 'Sign thyself with the sign of the Cross and renounce him.' So she signed herself in the name of Christ, and breathed upon the Demon, and straightway he vanished.

Chapter X

Two days after, when she was asleep with her godmother the lady Romana in her chamber, the devil appeared by night and wakened Pelagia, God's handmaid, and said, 'Tell me, my lady Margarita, were you not rich in silver and gold? Did I not deck you with gold and precious stones? I ask you, did I do aught to displease you? Tell me, that I may make you amends, but make me not a mock to the Christians.' Then Pelagia crossed herself and breathed upon the demon and said, 'My God, who snatched me from thy jaws and brought me to His heavenly couch, shall fight thee for me.' And straightway the devil vanished.

Chapter XI

Now three days after Pelagia had been baptised, she called to her the youth who had had charge of her house, and said to him, 'Go to my tiring-room, and make a list of everything that is there, gold or silver, or ornaments, or rich apparel, and bring them to me.' The boy did as his lady bade him, and brought her all her substance. Then she asked the holy bishop Nonnus to come to her, sending word through her godmother, the lady Romana, and laid all her substance in his hands, saying, 'These, my lord, are the riches wherewith Satan endowed me: I give them to you to do with as you will, and what seems good to you, that do: for it is the riches of the Lord Christ that I am fain of now.' The bishop straightway summoned the senior treasurer of the church, and in her presence handed over to him all her substance, saying, 'I adjure you, by the indivisible Trinity, that naught of this shall go to the episcopal treasury or to the church, but rather be allotted to the widows and orphans and the poor, so that what was gotten together by ill may be dispensed to good, and the wealth of a sinner become the treasury of righteousness. But if, in contempt of your oath, either by you or by some other, whosoever he be, aught of this be stolen, a curse shall fall upon his house, and his portion shall be with those who said, 'Crucify Him; crucify Him.' But she for her part called together all her young men and her maids, and gave them all their freedom: and with her own hand she gave them golden torques, saying, 'Hasten to set yourselves free from this worthless and sinful world, so that as we were together in this life, so shall we abide together without sorrow in that life which is most blessed.'

CHAPTER XII

But on the eighth day, when she should lay aside her white robes, she rose by night, without our knowledge, and laid aside the robe of her baptism, and put on the tunic and cloak of the good bishop Nonnus: and from that day she vanished from the city of Antioch. The holy Romana used to weep for her with bitter tears, but the good Nonnus would comfort her, saying, 'Weep not, daughter, but rejoice rather with great joy, for Pelagia hath chosen the better part, even as Mary, whom the Lord put before Martha in the Gospel. . . .'

CHAPTER XIII

Time went by, and the bishop of the city called all the bishops together, after which each might return to his own diocese. And when three or four years had passed, I, James the Deacon, took a great longing to set out to Jerusalem that I might there adore the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and I asked my bishop if he would give me leave to go. And while giving me leave, he said to me, 'I tell you, brother deacon, when you reach Jerusalem, inquire there for a certain brother Pelagius, a monk and a eunuch, who has lived these many years shut up and in solitude, so that you may visit him: for you might well profit by it.' And all the time he spoke of God's handmaid Pelagia, but I knew it not.

CHAPTER XIV

So then I arrived in Jerusalem, and I adored the holy resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ: and the next day I made inquiry for this servant of God. And I climbed up and found him in the Mount of Olives, where the Lord prayed, in a little cell closed in on every side, and it had a tiny window in the wall. And I knocked on the shutter of the little window, and at once it opened, and she looked out at me: and she knew me but I did not know her. And how could I know her, when she whom I had only seen in beauty beyond all telling was wasted and haggard with fasting? Her eyes were trenches in her face.

'Brother,' said she to me, 'whence art thou come?' And I answered, 'I was sent to thee by the bishop Nonnus.' Then said she, 'Bid him pray for me, for he is a saint of God.' And therewith she closed the shutter on the window, and began to sing the third hour. And indeed I myself prayed close to the wall of her cell, and went away, much lightened by the angelic vision. And I came back to Jerusalem, and began to go here and there among the monasteries, visiting the brethren.

CHAPTER XV

There was much talk among the monasteries of this Dom Pelagius: and so I made up my mind to go back yet another time to visit him, and be quickened by his salutary speech. But when I had again come to his cell, and knocked, and even dared to call upon him by name, there was no answer. I came again and waited a second day, and again a third, calling aloud 'Pelagius!' but I heard no one. So I said to myself 'Either there is no one here, or the monk who was here has gone away.' And then, moved by some instinct from God, I said again to myself, 'Let me make sure that he is not perhaps dead': and I opened the shutter of the window, and looked in, and I saw him dead. And I closed

the shutter and carefully filled it up with clay, and came hurrying to Jerusalem and told the news that the good monk Pelagius who had wrought miracles was at peace. Then the good fathers came with the brethren of divers monasteries, and the door of the cell was opened; and they carried out the holy little body, reckoning it as precious as gold and jewels. And when the good fathers set about anointing the body with myrrh, they found that it was a woman. They would fain have hidden the miracle, but they could not: and they cried aloud with a shout, 'Glory to Thee, Lord Christ, who hast many treasures hidden in the earth, and not men only, but women also.' It was told abroad to all the people, and all the convents of virgins came, some from Jericho and some from Jordan where the Lord was baptised: and so the holy relics of her were buried, and the good fathers carried her to her grave.

This is the story of a harlot, this the life of a desperate sinner: and may God grant that we find with her His mercy in the day of judgment: for to Him is the glory and honour, dominion and power, world without end. Amen.

There is another manuscript, an anonymous translation from the Greek, in which the end varies, but only to say that James the Deacon came back to Antioch and told it all to the lady Romana and 'my master Nonnus,' and that he realised then that Nonnus had known, when he sent him to seek out the hermit Pelagius. Some things James the Deacon never realised: the reason why his sober ecclesiastic's prose goes on fire when he speaks of her, or the lightening of his spirit after his last sight of her. But he at any rate recorded the things that he did not understand: the harshness of his bishop with his penitent; the sudden flight in the tunic and cloak of the blessed Nonnus; the swift closing of the shutter; the one curt message. If Pelagia had seen the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of a man, and denied herself the sight of the one lest she should lose the vision of the other, she kept her secret; and Nonnus, after that first impulsive pæan to the Beauty which should judge him and his episcopate, and his stern confession of his weakness and her power, held his peace. He died, Bishop of Edessa, on December 2 of some year unknown.

If Tetbald of Vernon, that incorrigible eleventh-century romantic, had ever told the story, he would doubtless have ended it as he did his *St. Alexis*, unable to endure the thought of those thwarted lives:

> Without doubt is St. Alexis in heaven.
> He has God with him and the angels for company.
> With him the maiden to whom he made himself strange.
> Now he has her close to him, together are their souls.
> I know not how to tell you how great their joy is.

But here it seems an impertinence. They hate him who would upon the rack of this desire stretch them out longer. They are

beyond it ; have seen what Shelley saw when he spoke of life as a stain on a white radiance.

Requiescant a labore
Doloroso et amore,

these for whom religion was not the mask of desire, but the countenance of that eternity which doth ever besiege our life.

HELEN WADDELL.

D. H. LAWRENCE

I TURNED through the arch that delivers the foot-passenger from the quiet of the Inner Temple into the roar of the Strand. Why, I asked myself, do I think of Gilbert Cannan? Is it because of *Little Brother* and the posting of a letter in the Temple pillar-box? Or is it some stray memory of Cannan's prefatory quotation from de Musset:

> Il existe, en un mot, chez trois quarts des hommes
> Un poete mort jeune à qui l'homme survit.
> Tu l'as bien dit, ami, mais tu l'as trop bien dit.

A terrible last line, like a knell sullen over ice. To survive the poet in one's own heart—O God! make my cup to pass! But why after all these years should my own dead poet so disturb me except that I said, as I saw the poster, I was expecting to see some such words.

'Death of Famous Novelist!' But why, since it must be Lawrence, I said to myself, remember particularly de Musset's line? For if it be (and well I knew that it was), Lawrence never outlived his poet. No, far from that. His poet would have smoothed the vexed brow, and given the last clothes the touch of marble. There is no need to remember de Musset at all I thought, fingering the news-sheet, if it is Lawrence. Because to be a poet is merely to possess an unusually obstinate and continuous habit of sight. Lawrence had that all his life with increasing violence. Other men blinked; he saw. And yes, I said, as I found the name, it is Lawrence, and a strange shock it was there in the Strand to reflect suddenly that Lawrence, on whom I had never set eyes, now belonged to me as much as to anyone. Not a friend, I thought, never that, but a dear personal enemy with whom I can now debate in the leisure of the tomb. And at that the de Musset lines came rushing back: 'Un poete mort jeune à qui l'homme survit.' But that is myself, I thought not Lawrence. I have at last bumped my head against a fact and wake to find that what I am seeing is not stars, just not stars.

But when I sat down at my desk next evening to write I began to ask myself whether, after all, the dead poet had no

been in Lawrence's breast rather than in mine. It is more than possible that the gathering bitterness of his work represented hands beating on the door of the prison-cell while a uniformed public smirked self-satisfaction from without, or grinned amiably through the grating. Nor always amiably, I thought, thinking of the clumsy steps of the bourgeois triumph danced over his dead form. All that the dunces can find to remember, I thought, is that he had written and painted what was held to be obscene by persons whose mental habits made them admirable judges of obscenity. They cannot, I thought, peer into the cell any longer. They are therefore shuffling their revenges in the corridor. But Lawrence has escaped. He is free for ever.

And not only from them, I thought, but from himself too. He had an intense, almost mediæval, vision of the body and soul at war. The dead poet in him, seeing in what hellish shapes the soul had cast the world, championed the body. 'Back to the beast,' he cried, because in the beast there were the grave perfections of unself-conscious life—life as it was before all that aimless thinking marred it. But no poet who ever lived, I thought, preferred the body to the soul. The one is made for us: we make the other. And since the poet, by virtue of his Greek name, is a Maker, he must, like the first Poet, wish to have a world in his own image. At that I took down from the shelf the little selection from *Love-Poems* and *Amores* that Lawrence had allowed me to make some—how few!—years ago. I turned over the white pages and remembered how much labour had gone to their making, what weighing of poem against poem, even line against line, and how little had come of it. For Lawrence, I thought, never saw the little book and would have thrown it from him if he had seen it. And by the time it was published the readers had lost their taste for 6*d*. poetry. So that it is very little more than a link between Lawrence and me—impersonal at his end, but living at mine.

And yet a little more, I thought, reading over the tiny preface again. 'But it is perhaps worth saying,' I murmured to myself, 'that his verse supplies (as it should) a short-cut to understanding his novels. The essential Lawrence is here curtly revealed—the savage belief in the holiness of the body, in the revelation of the blood. . . . Love is not a dimpled child, as in the painting by Watts, holding back with puny fists the door against death. He is a naked Titan throwing Ossa with a rebellious gesture against the abominable heaven of darkness—Mr. Lawrence's poetry is as difficult as that defiance, but it has some of its grim splendour.' It is true, at least, I thought, that his verse is a short-cut to his novels, and indeed, as it must be, to the spirit behind both. And we could learn much of Lawrence

by watching the change from the lover-hater of *Love-Poems* and *Amores* to the hater-lover of *Pansies* by way of *Birds, Beasts and Flowers*. (And forgetting *Nettles*, which, if I were the publishers, I should for the sake of a great writer recall.)

But before I begin on that journey, I said to myself, I would like to try to fix in my mind the moment at which Lawrence began to play a major, though disturbing, part in my scheme, as the dark apostle of all that was alien to me. It could not have been at the time when patriots, seeking for some new defenceless object to intern, fell upon *The Rainbow*. For at that time the abomination practised by the libraries, in the absence of all the literary world at the war, reached me as a faint rumour from a scene that I could never hope to enter. It was published (and assassinated) in 1915, but it was many years before I was to realise what an outrage, how typical of liberty in war-time, had been committed on Lawrence.

It must have been, I thought, five years later when the old *Saturday Review* (then under Baumann's editorship) sent me *The Lost Girl* to review, only to recall it for an older, and more suitable, hand. But the brown cover, that Martin Secker so admirably invented for contents furthest from brown in the world, had made a definite breach in the wall that was still fencing my mind. Here was another of those literary strangers knocking, and, it seemed, determined to smash through. It was, indeed, a bewildering mob that I was suddenly summoned to entertain in my quiet Victorian drawing-room—the Sitwells, Aldous Huxley, Sherard Vines, all trampling down the Berlin-wool rugs and pulling down the rep curtains. And now *The Lost Girl*.

I retrieved a copy from a bookseller (it seems, from the inscription, in Geneva), and I suppose, therefore, that I read it for the first time at the window in the Bergues Hotel looking over the lake to the Grand Salève. It was June, the inscription tells me, and therefore there would have been sun on the water, baskets of flowers round the arc-lamps, and all the black little dabchicks fled from the lake. Then to the faint murmur of the Rhone flinging itself in one blue heap at the far-distant sea, and to the slow drawl of Genevese voices, sauntering between the French words as between hedges, I read Alvina's story.

If it needed the inscription, I thought, to recall the circumstances in which I read it, no adventitious aid need or could sharpen the first whetted impression. Nothing to terrify or shock in the first admirable pages in *The Decline of Manchester House* and *The Rise of Alvina Houghton*. It was, one could reflect, consolingly Five Towns. This was the slow-treading British tradition—a solid grip on character and no damned nonsense about style. You could, as George Moore would say, wheel-

barrow your way to a respectable end. But presently with *The Beau* and the bicycle something new rode into the book and into my mind. As though somebody had rung a bicycle-bell in the dark at a corner, and suddenly instead of pedals a motor bicycle came flaring round like a dragon. Here, at any rate, was a form of life as intense as anything out there in the lazy Genevese sunshine. No doubt that dream-swan brooding on his image could shoot as sudden a spurt of white snake-fire. But now he was content to float like a picture of a swan by a man who had worked on photographs and never seen the living feathered bird. I returned then, I suppose, to the page a little intimidated by the vigour that might at any moment escape at me from between the brown boards—

> Ach schon zwanzig
> Ach schon zwanzig
> Immer noch durch's Leben tanz ich
> Jeder, Jeder will mich kussen
> Mir, das Leben zu versüssen

to that last horrible verse—

> Ach schon fünfzig
> Ach schon fünfzig
> Und noch immer Keiner will mich ;
> Soll ich mich Banden Zieren
> Soll ich eine Schleier führen ?
> Dann heist's, die Alte putzt sich,
> Sie ist fu'fzig, sie ist fu'fzig.

I must have read that with an intake of the blood at the heart. Here was the enemy—potent, cruel, and certain—at the gate. And desperately, no doubt as an incantation, I repeated to myself (I begin to remember) :

> Loveliest of trees, the cherry now
> Is hung with bloom along the bough,
> And stands about the woodland ride
> Wearing white for Eastertide.
>
> Now of my threescore years and ten,
> Twenty will not come again.

And that would avail nothing. Here was darker magic than any Housman knew. I looked out of the window. The swans still oared at peace, still the Salève humped his green back—immense horse—against the sky, and still, half-guessed, half-seen, Mont Blanc hid behind her wreath of cloud. But nothing in all that still beauty, as nothing in the delicate lamentation of the Ludlow Corydon, could put aside that advancing flood of secret life. Almost with a sigh, I thought, I resigned myself to my reading, as a bather might plunge his head into the advancing green of the main-deep.

It was so, I thought, that Natcha-kee-Twara must have tomahawked their way into the sober Swiss room. From the moment that Cicio, 'with the faint smile on his face, half grimace,' stooped foolishly into the room, I was, I thought, almost as lost as Alvina—'and all the time he looked down at Alvina from under his dusky eye-lashes, as if watching her sideways, and his mouth had the peculiar, stupid, self-anxious, half-jeering smile. His face was scarcely visible, it seemed, and yet so strange and beautiful. It was the unknown beauty that almost killed her.'

The unknown beauty, I thought—exactly that. The other beauties of the lake and the swans and the mountains were known, or at least knowable. But here was the presence of the new thing.

> Ah, my darling, when over the purple horizon shall loom
> The shrouded mother of a new era, men hide their faces,
> Cry out and fend her off, as she seeks her procreant groom,
> Wounding themselves against her, denying her personal embraces.

I read that poem of his later, and so I couldn't have had it on my mind that June day in Geneva when Pacohuila, Kishwegjin, and Allaye swept into my mind. I only knew then that they were shockingly alive, and that I hated them. They are still shockingly alive, and I hate them no less, but differently, as one hates an old trusted enemy, or a long dependable pain, as we might at the end of all cry to it with Wilfred Owen.

'I am the enemy you killed, my friend.' It is natural, therefore, I thought, that I of all people should be writing of Lawrence at this moment. I should be feeling as great a quiet in the world of my mind perhaps as that felt by some who loved him. Natural, too, that I should have thought of de Musset's 'poete mort jeune,' because exactly the agony for me in Lawrence was that he had wrung the neck of his young poet, and gone off whistling *Marlbrouch*. But he must have suffered, I said to myself, as acutely as ever I did, and this flight into Egypt of the body must be mere bravado. Well, I thought, let us see.

And so I came back to the poems. I began haphazard with *A Passing Bell*. I shall have to quote the whole of that, I told myself, because unless that poem is hammered into the mind it will be difficult to appreciate how far, how differently, Lawrence walked later. Besides, it will be no bad thing to let him ring beautifully, and in his own despite his own knell as:

> Mournfully to and fro, to and fro the trees are waving.
> *What did you say, my dear?*
> The rain-bruised leaves are suddenly shaken, as a child
> Asleep still shakes in the clutch of a sob—
> *Yes, my love, I hear.*

One lonely hill, one only, the storm-tossed afternoon is braving,
Why not let it ring?
The roses lean down when they hear it, the tender mild
Flowers of the bleeding heart fall to the throb.
'Tis a little thing.
A wet bird walks on the lawn, call to the boy to come and look,
Yes, it is over now.
Call to him out of the silence, call him to see
The starling shaking its head as it walks on the grass—
At who knows how?
He cannot see it, I can never show it him, how it shook—
Don't disturb it, darling.
—Its head as it walked. I can never call him to me,
Never, he is not, whatever shall come to pass.
No, look at the wet starling.

There is nothing here to alarm, though much to enchant. I cannot tell you, nor can you tell me, why 'the wet starling' is the very type of useless, endless sorrow. Yet so it is, and it is the same note in the same accent as Wordsworth's:

'What is good for a bootless bene?'
The falconer to the lady said.
And she made answer 'Endless sorrow,'
For she knew that her son was dead.

They could have carved 'No, look at the wet starling,' in the same deep letters on the further arch over the little door that leads into Bolton Abbey by the side of The Wharf. Travellers from Leeds and Bradford tramping that untarnishable herb would have peered up at the words and muttered them to one another. 'That was the woman whose son was drowned in the Strid with the two great dogs,' they would say. A wet starling! O, wet indeed!

Here then again, as in the opening chapters of *The Lost Girl*, one might be trapped. But after my first experience I was not likely to be caught the second time. Even, I thought, if these poems were earlier than *The Lost Girl*, the same Lawrence must be in them. He will be expressing here, in shorthand, what he has written out at length in his prose. This, for example, will hardly be the man himself, although it has a hint of his approach:

Slowly the moon is rising out of the ruddy haze,
Devesting herself of her golden shift, and so
Emerging white and exquisite; and I in amaze
See in the sky before me, a woman I did not know
I loved, but there she goes and her beauty hurts my heart;
I follow her down the night, begging her not to depart.

This is not his place, for Lawrence is not one of Diana's foresters, nor a minion of the moon. His is not the Endymion soul or the Endymion poetry. He will not suffer delicate invasion from with-

out. He will take the part of 'the golden sun' and float into all 'a quickening, masculine gleam.' He is therefore almost ridiculously clumsy with the moon and moon-lore, like a great carter balancing a tiny Sèvres cup in his hand. He'll never be able to drink out of that, I thought; he needs a tankard, and not that faint, frail China tea of the moon, but reeking Hollands that burn the belly out of you.

And it's here, I said, that the 'poete mort jeune' dies hard, in spite of all Lawrence's belief to the contrary. It is not the master of dark life that writes in *A Winter's Tale* the same tale that has been told in all the winters of the heart:

> I cannot see her, since the mist's white scarf
> Obscures the dark wood and the dull orange sky;
> But this waiting, I know, impatient and cold, half
> Sobs struggling into her frosty sigh.
>
> Why does she come so promptly, when she must know
> That she's only the nearer to the inevitable farewell?
> The hill is steep, in the snow my steps are slow—
> Why does she come, when she knows what I have to tell?

For then the young poet could still look out over All-London as another young poet could look over Tout-Paris and could cry almost in the classic setting:

> Over the nearness of Norwood Hill, through the mellow veil
> Of the afternoon glows to me the old romance of David and Dora,
> With the old sweet, soothing tears and laughter that shakes the sail
> Of the ship of the soul over seas where dreamed dreams lure the unoceaned explorer.

No doubt, I thought, he knew already to what a tenebrous bourne his ship would bear him, and even then perhaps he would have chosen to take none other. Yet it is possible, when later we look on Saul towering in front of the Philistines, to wonder if this David might not have slain him. But rather than do that, I thought, he broke his own sling, and held his head well forward to the giant's club.

> Tu l'as bien dit, ami, mais tu l'as trop bien dit.

For already the poet is stretching his throat to the garotter as in 'snapdragon,'

> She laughed, she reached her hand out to the flower,
> Closing its crimson throat. My own throat in her power,
> Strangled, my heart swelled up so full
> As if it would burst its wine-skin in my throat,
> Choke me in my own crimson. I watched her pull
> The gorge of the gaping flower till the blood did float
> Over my eyes, and I was blind.

It is clear now that the author of *The Lost Girl* was squeezing the life of the snapdragon between his hands.

All its head lay back, its fangs
Poised at her.

There has begun already that philosophy which seeks shelter
m all the wrongs that the mind has committed in the har-
rage of the body. It is neither Pantheism nor Pandiabolism;
plain Pan. It is the return to the goat-foot, and the starry,
ite-rimmed eyes peering through the green leaves on hot
ernoon:

Patience, little heart,
One day a heavy, June-hot woman
Will enter and shut the door to stay
And when your stifling heart would summon
Cool, lonely night, her round breasts will keep the night at bay,
Sitting in your room like two tiger-lilies
Flaming on after sunset.

It is already devouring him, I thought, that identification of
and body:

I learned it all from my foe
This warm dumb wisdom.
She's a finer instructress than years;
She has taught my heart strings to weave
Through the web of all laughter and tears
And now I see the valley
Fleshed all like me . . .

leshed all like me'—so then the green of leaf, the colour of wer, the bronze or saffron of earth, is to have the virtue of body, breathe unconsciously, move unconsciously, and love unsciously. Farewell to the young dead poet, and now on to *rds, Beasts and Flowers.*

That was far fresher in my mind even than *The Lost Girl.* need to look at the inscription, 'December 1293,' to recall w it came to me from the old green *Westminster Gazette,* with black spine and its yellow cover, to sit like a cockatoo among hedge-sparrow books. I used to write then over the bank in nsington High Street at the corner opposite Barker's. At night, en the last abominable omnibus had raged and roared itself o silence, the coffee-stall crept—blinking—out of its shelter. night long a little group drank their coffee and ate their sandhes (if the night were fine) like gentlemen at their tavern. And it was in that room, I thought, that I read in this black and low book. And I must have been thinking,' I exclaimed, the Gilbert Cannan preface, or else why did I write thus: 'Mr. wrence has in a high degree three virtues which are indispense to poetry imagination, a hot, daring mind, and an intellectual rage so violent as to partake of foolhardiness. The best

poetry—needs, too, a fourth thing to weld and mitigate the other three—of this master-quality of witchcraft Mr. Lawrence is, in general, almost entirely devoid,' and still more, why did I end 'But poetry'? That is another thing. Twice or thrice that loveliness strays, always half-terrified between the huge engines that work in the mind of Mr. Lawrence. Twice or thrice, but for the most part the clatter is too much for her. She has gone back to Parnassus, and gives herself a little, trembling shake. 'O,' she says, and is quiet for a long time, and then 'But what a pity!' Yes, what a pity, Mr. Lawrence.

But surely I was listening to my heart against my head when I wrote so. Is poetry, I asked myself, only to regret and to remember, little squirts of amiable self-pity? Is it only, I asked, or ever that? Or didn't Lawrence still, however he played with verse-forms, have access to the shrine when he wrote:

> Dusty are the avenues of wine,
> And we must cross the frontiers, though we will not,
> Of the lost, fern-scented world;
> Take the fern-seed in our lips,
> Close the eyes, and go
> Down the tendrilled avenues to the other world.

Fern-seed, indeed! For nothing less, I said to myself, than that fairy seed could make him talk with reptiles and fishes, not as Mowgli talked with Kaa by investing the great python with human speech and sagacity, but as though Kaa had given Mowgli snake-mind and snake wisdom. For who but a fish, or one long lost in the medulla oblongata, could ever have written:

> And the gold-and-green pure lacquer-mucus comes off in my hand,
> And the red-gold mirror eye stares and dies,
> And the water-snare contour dims.
>
> But not before I have had to know
> He was born in front of my sunrise,
> Before my day
>
> He outlasts me.
>
> But I, I only wonder
> And don't know.
> I don't know fishes.
>
> In the beginning
> Jesus was called The Fish . . .
> And in the end.

or thus of the snake:

> And truly I was afraid. I was most afraid,
> But even so, honoured still more
> That he should seek my hospitality
> From out the dark door of the secret earth.

He drank enough
And lifted his head, dreamily, as one who has drunken,
And flickered his tongue like a forked night in the air so black
Seeming to lick his lips,
And looked round like a god, unseeing into the air.

That quality of being one with fish and snake and bird is the Natcha-Kee-Twara quality. I wrote of it as I did in 1924, I thought, because I hated it, and was afraid of it. I was saying to myself in Lawrence's own words to Fish :

I didn't know his God,
I didn't know his God.
. . . . . .
Other Gods
Beyond my range . . . gods beyond my God. . . .

Would I, I asked myself, rather have had Rupert Brooke's fish, with a sort of mermaid heaven, a man's heaven for a fish, and not a fish's heaven for a man ? If I am honest, I told myself, I should have to admit that Brooke has trapped me in a tumbler, but Lawrence has tapped the rock, and the water, even if a little brackish, has welled out :

Fat caterpillars drift around
And Paradisal grubs are found ;
Unfading moths, immortal flies,
And the worm that never dies,
And in that heaven of all their wish,
There shall be no more land, say fish.

Admirable, neat as a trout slipping under a stone, and yet see where the great pike comes shouldering in :

A slim young pike, with smart fins
And grey striped suit, a young cub of a pike
Slouching along away below, half out of sight
Like a lout on an obscure pavement. . . .
Aha, there's somebody in the know.

And the somebody seems—doesn't it ?—rather Lawrence than Rupert Brooke.

If then, I said, the young poet is dead, he may have died of sheer jealousy of this middle-aged poet that slouches a little, like the pike, along the obscure pavements of immortality. But the young poet is not merely envious : he is mortally afraid. For he has come on two signs of disintegration, and he perceives that he will be called upon to endure another crucifixion after his resurrection. There are two things in *Birds, Beasts and Flowers* that are threatening. The first is the tendency to write non-Kipling, which is, of course, exactly as indefensible as Kipling in political matters. We have, for example, on the one hand Kipling writing in 1912 on the subject of Ulster :

We know the war prepared
In every peaceful home,
We know the Hells declared
For such as serve not Rome—
The terror, threats and dread
On market, hearth, and field—
We know, when all is said,
We perish if we yield.

with which compare as being complementary:

Look at them standing there in authority,
The pale-faces,
As if it would have any effect any more—
Pale face authority,
Caryatides
Pillars of white bronze standing rigid lest the skies fall.
What a job they've got to keep it up!

The other tendency, I thought, has afforded the Press its headlines, but even so it cannot be ignored. Because the shadow was already dark in this black and yellow book. Lawrence's deliberate philosophy is beginning to turn on him a little dangerously, as though a man were celebrating mysteries at a heathen altar by night half as a joke. And then the moon slipped behind a cloud, and the darkness was no darkness that man had ever known. So, then, Mr. Lawrence had begun the path that Conrad's hero in *Heart of Darkness* also trod. For him, too, when he sailed down the river, the jungle slipped to the water-edge holding out despairing arms. There were moments when the word 'exorcism' trembled on the lips.

For that reason I wont, I concluded, pursue the examination into *Pansies*, because that will only indicate where the jungle paths end and lose themselves in swamps and waste. I would rather at the end of what is little more than a transliteration of what I thought when I saw the poster in the Strand merely declare my faith. In the novels, the short stories and the poems there was neither a great novelist nor a great writer of short stories, nor a great poet. None of these three things, and yet by virtue of something ominously vital in him, he poured new life into all these poems till they crackled like sparking-plugs. Lawrence, it seemed, was not only near to the earth, but he was near to the core of the earth. There was in him a hot volcanic spark. He burned, not like a great knot of wood, but slowly, and terribly hotly, like his own deep-seamed coal. With that heat in him he could transfuse the form, as the sun can make holiday in the Hell of a mining village. When the sun goes in, the village is shambling bricks and crawling street again. But it has had its hour, of which nothing can rob it. So Lawrence carelessly takes the exquisitely poised shapes of verse, tosses them contemptuously

over his shoulder, and leaves them sprawling like tumbled bricks. But he turns before he leaves them a sort of calcining ray upon them, in their direction in their flaming death. It has heat, and it is a quality which the Brontës almost alone of English novelists possessed: it is supremely Lawrence's quality. And, having that, he is one of those happy few who can afford to write badly, wildly, absurdly, and even pathetically. He can even dispense with a sense of humour, in which he was, in fact, quite incredibly deficient. He does not need to wait for time to waste the rubbish away. His own fiery energy purges it in his own flame. He belonged to no school, and he generated none. He was the tail of a comet that singed the earth. He is still bright and unbridled between the stars.

Yes, a comet, I thought, that 'glazed upon us and went surly by.' But is he a recurring comet, whose next arrival the astronomer can confidently anticipate? It is always dangerous to arrogate the function of posterity, and most dangerous when the luminary has but this instant deserted the evening sky. The history of literary criticism in this regard is littered with broken reputations and too hasty guesses; but for all that, I will take my chance and declare my belief that Lawrence will most certainly survive the enmities of time. And why?

Because, apart from his theories and his angers, Lawrence was essentially a conduit of life. His men and women, like his birds and beasts and flowers, were radio-active, and regenerate themselves continuously from some internal source of slow friction. They are not 'characters' any more than an individual daffodil is a 'character' in the Dickens sense. He left us, therefore, no Micawbers or Pecksniffs alive with the sheer animation of their author's mind. His people are sullenly but violently living of and by themselves. Nor is he concerned to build a world as Balzac or Proust built one. He had not, that is to say, the cool ordering imagination that groups and constructs. Each new book was a separate birth, related by ties of birth to the last, but as independent of the other as children of different marriages. The creating force did not change, but the mould varied, and it was all one to Lawrence whether his scene was the Midlands of England, the sheep farms of Australia, or the flaming wastes of Mexico. Perhaps of all his backgrounds the Mexican was nearest to his genius. He was himself something of a 'plumed serpent,' with a cloud of smoke hinting at the fiery cauldron below. He was for ever searching to free himself of the casual and meaningless, like the volcano. Indeed, it is hardly an exaggeration to think of his periods of activity as eruptions. And if we think of our English writers in mountain-terms, we shall have to conceive Lawrence as burning with that hidden fire among the cooler,

snow-capped giants. It is dangerous to live in his neighbourhood. The fatal flood may pour forth at any moment, ravaging the smiling countryside, but at any rate he is a great light against heaven.

For my part, I have found him (and shall always find him) a challenge and a rebuke. 'Pale-face,' he calls me, and I am driven always, when I read him, to re-assess my values. In verse, for example, he was incorrigibly clumsy in form. I doubt whether he ever wrote a true rhythm or a single line wholly pleasing to the constructing ear. But even so, not once or twice he wrote a poem as savagely alive as a flash of lightning. He seemed at times to disprove all the rules, but I was a little consoled when I read his *David*. For I realised then that he had some of the direct force of a prophet. His God poured through him, and spoke as He directed and devised. Often Lawrence did not rightly overhear the distant utterance, still more often it overwhelmed him and his expression. But at times, when he could master it, his verse was at the unbridled heart of poetry, drawing its own patterns in hieroglyphs of flame.

Much of his work, both in verse and prose, will burn itself out, much was dead lava when it reached the level of human habitation. But much will remain as violent a challenge to complacency and ugliness a hundred years hence as now. In his youth he loved what he hated, in his later years he hated what he loved, but in both periods he greatly defied the dark spears of mortality. He fought all night with the angel of death, thigh to thigh. If he bore the marks on his body when the dawn came, the angel was not unscarred.

HUMBERT WOLFE.

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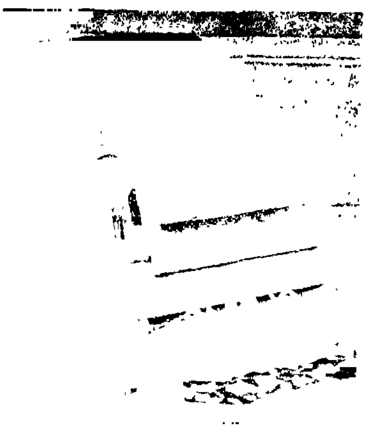
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THE

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THE FIRST SOCIALIST BUDGET

This year's Budget is actually the first Budget for which a Socialist Government of the United Kingdom has been wholly responsible. The circumstances are not favourable to the new birth. Our industries, depressed already by local conditions and principally by the loss of markets in the war, find themselves, in addition, sunk in the trough of one of the great waves of depression that pass round the world with almost tidal regularity, bringing falling prices and profits and rising unemployment. The present wave is an unusually severe one. It is aggravated by the coincidence of a normal period of depression with a noticeable increase of production in proportion to employment, the result of those processes of reorganisation and re-equipment of industry nicknamed rationalisation. In a word, there is a slump—an exceptionally severe one ; and it is a hard world into which Mr. Snowden has had to bring his fiscal baby.

All the signs and prognostications are unfavourable for the budgeteer. Our revenue system is overstrained by its burdens.

The yield of the chief taxes is showing signs of weakness. One cause of that is that production, the basis of direct taxation, is enfeebled: statistics of our foreign trade and of employment allow no doubt of it. With decreasing production income tax and super-tax are beginning to flag. Another cause of the feebleness of the revenue is that consumption, the basis of indirect taxation, is diminishing with production. If a check in production is short, people sometimes go on consuming as much as ever, or indeed they even consume more than ever because they are idle. But we have had bad times so long that as a people we have begun to realise that we must learn to do without. The Chancellor of the Exchequer feels the effect of that in the inelasticity of the revenue from customs and excise. At the same time, industry, busy with a strenuous attempt at rationalisation to keep up in the race with foreign competition, needs more capital than ever. The Lord Privy Seal is ever at the elbow of the Chancellor of the Exchequer whispering 'It takes 200*l.* of capital to employ a man; the more you tax industry, the less capital there is, and the fewer men will be employed.' At least, if the Lord Privy Seal is not whispering that, he ought to be.

Lastly, and most unfortunately from the point of view of a Budget-maker, now, at a time of slump, with fresh capital the country's greatest need, the Government of which the Chancellor is a member is a Socialist Government, with a policy of doles. The taxable capacity of the country is not maintaining its rate of increase. The revenue system of the country is strained to breaking point. At this juncture the Chancellor finds himself the instrument of a policy that needs for its application more and more revenue. When the country is crying aloud for relief from its burdens the Chancellor has to increase them. History will point its finger back at this year's Budget as an interlude in the general sanity of the United Kingdom about financial affairs. 'The public finances of this country,' one may write about A.D. 2430, 'were ordinarily conducted with a good deal of common-sense. An exception may be found in the Budget of 1930–31. The second Socialist Government then very nearly brought about disaster by initiating a policy of largely increased expenditure on non-essential services, when the economic structure of the country, at its weakest after the Great War, stood in urgent need of strengthening by rigid economy in expenditure and by the reduction of taxation.'

The present position of the country is precisely that of one of the great businesses that have been in low water since the war. Its earning capacity is reduced and it has lost a lot of capital. If it is to pull round, it should rationalise. It must save every penny of unnecessary expenditure. For the present,

it should declare no dividend or bonus, but put every penny back into the business. It should be strenuous and courageous in its policy of renovation; but there should be no outlay by way of fresh investment that does not promise prompt and definite profit. Such being our position, and such the policy it requires, along comes a Socialist Government. It declares large dividends and bonuses, in the form of unemployment benefit. It loosens the purse strings of needless expenditure, and pays little or no heed to the accumulation of capital for fresh profitable investment in the business. In short, it takes the course in public finance that in private finance leads at best to a disastrous 'reconstruction,' and at worst to a compulsory liquidation.

There is no cloud without its silver lining, and bad trade, depression, and lack of confidence in industry brought to the Chancellor its characteristic consolation of 'cheap money.' The funds that there was not confidence enough to trust to industrial developments were available for investment in gilt-edged securities; and the rate of interest on Government securities was being reduced by the abundance of the supply. It was no small blessing. In the demonology of a Chancellor nowadays Conversion is a spectre no less dreadful than Doles. Depression in industry made it difficult for him to get the revenue which he needed; but on the other hand it should make it possible to reduce expenditure by profitable conversion of Government debt from a higher to a lower basis of interest. That is, indeed, one of the very few fields of expenditure in which there is any real hope of substantial relief for the taxpayer under a Socialist Administration. It was expected that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would make his Budget speech the occasion of an announcement of a big scheme of conversion. City opinion thought that he could convert as much as 500,000,000*l*., with a saving of as much as ½ per cent. In this there was a disappointment. No conversion was announced. Perhaps it is the Reparations loan of 60,000,000*l*. for Germany, of which London has to find more than its fair share, that blocks the way. The only advantage that Mr. Snowden is able to budget for, from cheap money, is a reduction of 11,500,000*l*. in the interest on the floating debt. This enables him to avoid any increase in the total provision of 355,000,000*l*. to be made for the service of the debt. It is a small mercy to derive from the cheaper rates for money, in comparison with what might have been, had not extravagance and lack of confidence prevented us from taking full advantage of them by a substantial conversion.

When Mr. Snowden sat down to make his Budget the situation just described confronted him in a series of grim facts. Ordinary

revenue for the past year (1929–30) had disappointed expectations to the extent of 12,000,000*l*. Although the inanities of party polemics would have us believe otherwise, Mr. Snowden's predecessor was no more responsible for that than Mr. Snowden. It is eloquent that the chief disappointments were in the revenue from stamps (5·3,000,000*l*.), the result of the slump on the Stock Exchange, and from direct taxation (5,000,000*l*.). Obviously the cause of the failure to realise the estimated revenue was the depression of business as a whole. In so far as any political party was responsible for the disappointment, it was the Socialist Party and the shock that its advent gave to confidence. Ordinary expenditure for 1929–30 exceeded the original estimate by 8,500,000*l*. Interest on debt was 2,500,000*l*. more than the estimate, owing to high rates of interest on the floating debt, another circumstance eloquent of shaken confidence. For the rest, the increase over the estimate was wholly due to a supplementary grant of 10,000,000*l*. for unemployment. Already the doles were mounting ; already the spectre of Socialist Chancellors had arisen and was waving a hand of menace. The doubts and disappointments in revenue and expenditure came to a head in a technical deficit in relation to Budget expectations of 14,500,000*l*. and a real deficit therein, owing to the inadequacy of the provision for interest, of 19,500,000*l*. According to the doctrines of public finance affected by Mr. Snowden, this deficiency in sinking funds had to be made good.

The next grim fact in the series was that estimates for the current year were formidably up. The only substantial reduction was that of 4,000,000*l*. for the Navy, and that was but a gamble on the result of the Conference. The Civil Estimates showed a gross increase of 56,000,000*l*. That was not, of course, all the result of the new Socialist policy of spending: 27,000,000*l*. was the bill for that. Even so, that is the biggest increase in expenditure since the war due to deliberate policy. Unemployment accounted for 14,000,000*l*., and pensions for 5,000,000*l*. Education was up 5,000,000*l*. and health services 3,500,000*l*.

Such is the price the nation has had to pay in less than a year for the redemption of the election promises of the Labour Party. Nine months have been enough to see all that was left of the forces of national economy in full retreat, leaving the field to Mr. Snowden's favourite policy of 'collective spending.' Collective spending means Government collecting money from people who have earned it and need it to increase employment in their businesses, and spending it on such unproductive purposes as are best calculated to catch votes.

With a gap of 50,000,000*l*. or so looming ahead of him, the Chancellor could not look to any substantial help from normal

increase of revenue. There are no such signs of good times at hand as would enable him to do so with common prudence. So few, indeed, are the symptoms of industrial recovery that the prudent will probably think that he was stretching optimism to its limits in anticipating an increased revenue of 5,500,000*l.* in the coming year on the basis of existing taxation. He himself is careful to say that he does not expect any increase in industrial profits. It was inevitable that he should either raise the rates of existing taxation or impose some taxation that was new. The first alternative presented difficulties. The chief existing taxes are strained to breaking point. Beer, spirits, and tobacco are at or near the point beyond which heavier taxation will merely reduce consumption and yield no more revenue. Even if it were not so the Chancellor, who for reasons of political strategy in 1923 dealt our revenue system a blow that permanently weakened it by excessive reductions of indirect taxation on the wage-earners, could not be expected to reverse that policy in 1930. The yield of income tax shows signs of failing. There is no more eloquent evidence of the fact that production is over-taxed than the recent fall in the yield of super-tax. It has fallen steadily from 67,000,000*l.* in 1925–26 to 56,000,000*l.* in 1929–30. There is no spring or elasticity left in the great direct taxes. Quite apart from any question of the economic mischief of increasing direct taxation, grave doubt is now involved to what extent an increase in rate will increase revenue. There can be no certainty that an increase will not produce so sharp a reaction upon the prosperity of the country and upon the state of mind of the direct taxpayer as to defeat its own purpose. On the other hand, there was no obvious fresh source of revenue available. Mr. Snowden's policy debarred him from such practical expedients as Mr. Churchill's artificial silk duty. He knew too much about the collection of revenue to have any faith in the fancy taxes that commend themselves at Budget times to the amateurs of public finance. With old taxes failing and no good new ones about, he was on the horns of a dilemma, horns that await any Chancellor who has to increase taxation in an overtaxed country.

The 5,500,000*l.* of normal increase in revenue left the Chancellor with a gap to cover of 42,500,000*l.*, a formidable and melancholy task. Some 16,000,000*l.* from the Rating Relief Suspensory Fund reduced the gap to 26,500,000*l.* This is making use of a capital asset saved in a previous year. It helps this year, but it leaves the problem unsolved how the 16,000,000*l.* is to be found in future years. Next, he gets 3,000,000*l.* from beer. The amount is so trifling in comparison with his needs that we may no doubt look upon this as a mere gesture. It

may be supposed to give those something to talk about who have to answer the argument that it is unstatesmanlike to relieve the wage-earners from all sense of responsibility for increased expenditure. Since, however, the Chancellor expects that the price of beer will not be increased, perhaps the gesture is rather for the temperance reformers. In any case it is of no practical significance.

The 3,000,000*l.* of beer money still leave an unbridged gap of 23,500,000*l.* This amount is swelled by Mr. Snowden's novel and peculiar provisions for dealing with the deficit of the past year (1929–30). As those who know his psychology expected, he is not content to leave the dead Budget to bury its dead deficit in the floating debt. He insists on having the corpse about him, and carrying it with him into the future in bits. He will make good 5,000,000*l.* of the deficit this year, 5,000,000*l.* next year, and 4,500,000*l.* the year after. Like a self-sacrificing ancient mariner, he hangs his albatross about his neck well in the public eye. One wonders whether he would be so particular about its publicity were it not Mr. Churchill's bird. More, he intends by legislation to compel every Chancellor for all time to make good the deficit of one year in the year that follows. It is a pretty gesture of financial orthodoxy; but is it really going to make any practical difference? The Chancellor is now under an obligation not to have a deficit, and yet deficits come. If the existing obligation is of no avail, what reason is there to expect more of this new obligation? If the provision is not effective it will be mischievous. It will confuse our annual accounts with the remains of ancient deficits, dating back, it may be, for years. At first sight it seems one of those pious intentions that had almost better be left in the regions of piety and not reduced to practice.

Five millions for the deficit and some minor concessions in revenue enlarged the gap to 28,750,000*l.* This Mr. Snowden will bridge by direct taxation. He makes increases in income tax, super-tax, and death duties that will give him 33,800,000*l.* this year and 46,500,000*l.* in a full year. The excess over what is required to fill the gap is mortgaged for the derating scheme. It is a crushing blow to the hopes of the taxpayer. At once all the hopes of a return to endurable taxation that have buoyed up the middle classes since the war are dashed to the ground.

The new taxation will consist of a treble increase in the steepness of graduation on higher incomes. All those in excess of 485*l.* a year (for single people) will pay more. Mr. Snowden comes down on them with four successive blows of the mailed fist. The graduation is steepened by an increase of the relief on

the first 250*l*., steepened again by an increase in the basic rate of super-tax, steepened again on the inherited part of income by a fresh graduation of death duties, and the whole tax is raised to a higher level by the increase of 6*d*. in the basic rate. It is an orgy of direct taxation. The Chancellor claims it as a merit of his proposal that the increased taxes will be paid by one-quarter only of the body of income tax payers. There speaks the politician, not the statesman. If the object is to catch votes, the plan is well laid. If the object is to tax so as to do least harm, it could not be laid worse.

In the first place, if there has to be increased expenditure, it is a good thing to send in a bill for it to as many people as possible and not as few. That is surely the only way to induce a sense of responsibility and so to maintain a public opinion that will deter the repetition of extravagance for the future. It would have been better for the Chancellor to have sent in part of the bill to the wage-earners in the shape of indirect taxes. They have had most of the benefit of the expenditure, and they should have the opportunity of learning that they cannot have it for nothing. As to the income tax payers, the wider the burden of fresh expenditure is spread over this class, too, the better. It is not good for public opinion that the small income tax payer should escape without direct experience of the fresh burdens that are being cast upon production. Best would it have been had there been no need for fresh taxes, but, since need there was, it would have been better to spread their burden as widely as possible. The worst course was that which has been chosen, to accumulate the burden in the form of penal taxation on a few. It inflicts equal injury in the long run on the productive capacity of the country, and it conceals from the majority the facts of government and of public finance.

It inflicts equal injury in the long run, because of course this taxation on the big incomes comes home to roost as a burden on industry. It is only by degrees that we are coming to appreciate the manner and the measure of the harm that over-taxation does to production. Some of its evils are well known. Sir Auckland Geddes has recently traced yet another evil to this source. It is the evil of uncompetitive prices. When taxes are raised the middleman and retailer resist a reduction of income. They seek to raise prices, or to standardise them against any fall which may be due in respect of falling wholesale prices. They thus seek to pass, and more or less succeed in passing, the tax on to the consumer; and there is a 'lag,' or tendency to maintain prices at an uncompetitive level, to the detriment of industry and employment. Thus in innumerable unexpected and indirect ways does the State injure its own economic life

when it interferes too intimately with its industrial mechanism by over-taxation.

For a summary of the matter let us go to a master of vigorous statement, the Chancellor himself. Recently he broadcast a speech on disarmament to the United States. Released for the occasion from the need to appeal to the proletariat, and free to play his more admired part as the champion of the true interests of his country, he spoke with a new voice, and these were his words:

> Our people are the most heavily taxed in the world. The average amount of national and local taxation works out at about 100*l*. a year per family. We have an income tax of 4*s*. in the pound and a super-income tax running up to an additional 6*s*. in the pound. In addition, the duties on estates passing at death range as high as 40 per cent. The whole of the yield of these heavy taxes is only sufficient to provide two-thirds of the cost of providing for the annual war debt charges, war pensions and the fighting Services.
>
> *With such a burden as this upon our shoulders, with all the destruction, all the waste, all the sacrifice, all the disorganisation of industry and society that it implies, is it any wonder that we have suffered industrial depression as the aftermath of the war? Nay, the wonder is that we have been able at all to maintain our position.*

Which is the real man, the red Chancellor of the Budget, or the true blue, the ultramarine Chancellor of the broadcast? Did he not know when broadcasting that in the Budget he was going deliberately to increase each one of those burdens to which he referred, and deliberately to aggravate the destruction, waste, sacrifice, and disorganisation which he so feelingly described?

The political device of accumulating the new burdens of taxation on one-quarter of the payers of income tax will hardly prove of much avail. Will the other three-quarters take any comfort from their respite? For that, the snare is set too obviously in their sight. With bills to meet, Socialism leaves no doubt of its intention to send them all in to the direct taxpayer. When the next bill is due, next Budget-time, it will hardly be possible so wholly to disregard statecraft, economy, and equity as once more to steepen the graduation. Then it will be the turn of the smaller incomes, as they can very clearly see. It is true that Mr. Snowden has said that there will be no fresh taxation next year, *if* there are no fresh large schemes of expenditure. What an 'if'! Already a cry of rage against his Budget has risen from the Clyde. He is denounced by his extremists as the executioner of every Socialist hope. Socialist babies, it is believed, of late years have been encouraged from their cradles onwards with tales of the new world that would

begin with Mr. Snowden's first Budget. Baby Bunting, we may suppose, has been rewritten :

> Bye, Baby Bunting,
> Labour's gone a-hunting.
> You shall have the rich man's skin
> When Philip brings his Budget in.

Now all is disillusionment. Philip's first Budget after a fairly long excursion warns them off the promised land. But the Clyde are not going to have it, and in this they will not be alone. Whatever support they get from orthodox Labour for other things, there will always be plenty for more expenditure of public money. Prophecy is full of risks ; but it is really hardly prophecy to say that there will be fresh large schemes of expenditure of public money this year, and that the Chancellor will fail to prevent them. That is not so much prophecy as a restatement of experience. When those schemes come it will be the turn of the direct taxpayers who escape this year. We are at the beginning of a deliberate policy of making use of direct taxation to transfer income from those who have earned it to those who have not. The process will last as long as the Socialist Government, and if it goes on long enough no direct taxpayer will escape. Indeed, the prospect for next year is disquieting. Mr. Snowden tells us that it is his policy to repeal all food taxes and the McKenna duties. If and when he does so he will need so much fresh revenue that more taxation will be imperative, whether or not there are schemes of fresh expenditure. The respite of the smaller income tax payer seems likely to be a short one.

Such burdens as the Budget proposes to accumulate on the shoulders of a few should be considered not only from the point of view of economic advantage, but also from that of social justice. It takes all sorts to make a world, and all experience goes to show that reasonable liberty to accumulate wealth is necessary if a community is to be prosperous. It is at any rate a fact of experience in the modern world that the more prosperous a community is as a whole, the more well-to-do people it contains. However unpopular the doctrine may be, it is true that it is as important that the capital-owning and saving class should be prosperous and contented at one end of the scale as that the wage-earners should be at the other. If it be so, then it is imprudent as well as wrong for the State to give that class a sense of injustice. Undoubtedly the Budget must give a sense of injustice to the small class who are called upon to bear alone the whole fresh burden of expenditure from which they derive no direct benefit. The spread of such a sense

of injustice must have many evil consequences, and one of the more serious will be to weaken the moral assent which taxpayers have hitherto given to our system of direct taxation. The efficiency of direct taxation depends upon its winning and preserving such moral assent. If it does not do so, direct taxation becomes ineffective as a means of raising revenue. That is the experience of many other countries, especially the Latin lands. Owing to mental differences between the Latin and the Anglo-Saxon, in those lands income taxes and their like have always been looked upon as oppressive and unjust. The taxpayers have tacitly refused to co-operate with the fisc in their collection. Those States have in consequence been unable to make them, as our State has made them, the foundation of their systems of revenue. Should co-operation of the sort cease here, it will be a bad look-out for future Budgets. Our fisc will have lost its most powerful and flexible weapon, and we shall have to establish a new system of revenue. At present there is only one adequate alternative that can be named; it is a revenue tariff on imports, with protective effects. By overstraining the machinery of direct taxation and introducing conspicuous inequalities into its adjustment the Budget greatly strengthens the case of those who advocate a tariff of the sort. It would be consistent with strict adherence to the doctrine of Free Trade, even in its more extreme and quasi-religious forms, to say, 'Import duties have all the disadvantages which Free Traders have always said that they have. But once the fat of economy has been spilled so completely into the fire, it will do less harm to raise the revenue needed by import duties than by direct taxation so inequitable in quality and excessive in quantity as to crush enterprise and prevent saving.'

No display of rhetorical fireworks, no invective against Mr. Winston Churchill, can conceal these inherent vices of the Budget. A Chancellor of the Exchequer cannot be ignorant that the first need of industry is a relief from burdens, and it is his first duty to enforce economy. Mr. Snowden has allowed himself to be defeated by the forces that make for increased expenditure. The wages of expenditure is taxation, and he has been obliged to exact fresh taxes at a time when the whole revenue machinery of the country is creaking and groaning towards a breakdown. Of the nation's income a part is needed to live upon and a part to save, and it is the remainder only that is available for taxation. Before the war it has been estimated that the part of the nation's income that was taken in taxation was 11 per cent. At the present time it is variously estimated at from 20 per cent. to 25 per cent. No doubt allowance must be made for the increase in the amount of public money that is spent on social services, i

relief of that part of the nation's income needed for living. Allowance must also be made for the increase in the interest on the National Debt, which is paid to some extent from one pocket of the nation into the other. Even if such allowances be made, it is certain that the increase in the burden of taxation during the last fifteen years has been enormous. It is no less certain that to a large extent its effect has been to reduce the amount saved by the nation for the renovation and extension of the machinery of production. It has been estimated that before the war the proportion of the national income thus saved was 16 per cent. At the present time it is almost certainly not more than 10 per cent. We need to save every penny that we can to equip ourselves for the battle of competition with foreign rivals in production, a battle that rapidly intensifies in severity. What we ought to be doing is reducing all direct taxation, increasing the allowances for depreciation under income tax law, and making any and every other remission of taxes that will encourage saving. What the Budget does is to march in the opposite direction. It turns the cold shoulder to Mr. Thomas and his need for capital to find employment, and smiles upon Miss Bondfield and her Doles. The over-taxed nation is to be still more heavily taxed, and these taxes are to be imposed in precisely that manner most likely to impede economic recovery. They are to be taxes upon savings and the saving classes.

Learned economists doubt whether direct taxes enter into the cost of production or act as a handicap in competition with foreign producers. To them their doubts; but to those with any knowledge of the minds of men it is certain that taxation such as we bear in this country is a deterrent to industry and production. The minds that provide the country with initiative and energy will not and cannot serve it at their best whilst the tax collector stands ready to reap so large a part of the harvest that they sow. Whether or not high taxation enters into cost of production, it is certain that taxation so high as ours reduces effort by reducing its reward. That is a consequence more mischievous even than the reduction of the funds available for fresh investment

Such a Budget as this acts as a poison in the veins of the nation, reducing its vitality, inducing lethargy and discouraging energy. Since the war there have been three periods in the history of our national finances, each with its own characteristics. First there came the period of economy. That period lasted from 1919 until 1923. During those years Sir Austen Chamberlain, Sir Robert Horne, and Mr. Baldwin succeeded in curing the country of its war-fever of spending. They stopped inflation, balanced the Budget, re-established control over the estimates, and reduced the burden of the taxpayer by 50,000,000*l*. a year. After the episode

of the first Socialist Government, an episode of little significance to budgetary history, there followed a period of marking time. This was the period of Mr. Churchill's Chancellorship. Pensions and derating prevented any further substantial reductions in taxation. The disaster of the General Strike and the Coal Strike made it necessary to seek fresh resources. It was only by an ingenious squeezing of the orange that Mr. Churchill was able to effect any reduction of taxation at all and to avoid increasing it. A balance was preserved: we were noticeably moving neither forward nor backward along the path of economy. This year's Budget initiates a third period. It seems probable that it will be a period of definitely increasing expenditure and taxation. To our present rulers economy in public expenditure is no virtue. On the contrary, it is their professed object to increase the proportion of the nation's income spent by the State. To them a tax is a good in itself, since every tax is an engine in the hands of the State to effect a more equal distribution of incomes. The fresh burdens of 1930 are thus no accident: they are an earnest of Socialism in practice. Fortunately it seems probable that political conditions will prevent the increase of burdens during this third period, the period of extravagance, from being swift. It seems likely to proceed gradually, and, if it does so, the country will have time to recognise the mischief of the process and to put a stop to it before it works more than temporary harm.

There is much at stake upon the issue, nothing less than the continuance of the country as a leader in industrial production. If taxes continue to go up, employment will continue to go down, and the forces that will ultimately strike a balance between the country and its excessive population will be those described by Malthus in his first *Essay on Population*—hunger, misery, and disease. If we clear our minds for a moment of the prejudices of party politics, can we doubt that it will be so? What is there peculiar to this nation that has given it pre-eminence as a leading manufacturing country in the past, and upon which it depends for a maintenance, if not of pre-eminence, at least of prominence in that respect? It is not only its natural advantages of climate, minerals, and position. Other countries have as great. It is not its wage-earners. They are intelligent and industrious, but so are the wage-earners of other nations. It is not the small leisured class. They make an important contribution to the life of the nation, but not a contribution critically significant to economic prosperity. If we think of what the nation is, of what it has done and can do again, do we not know, even if it be only in the background of our minds that we are prepared to admit it, that the national character, the driving power of the nation, as well in commerce and industry as in the government of the United Kingdom

and the Empire, comes from the middle class? With 'earned income exempt up to 160*l*. a year for single people and up to 40c a year for couples with three children this class is approximate conterminous with the class of income tax payers, the cla injured or threatened by this Budget. It includes the busine and professional men, the managers and assistants—indeed, tl salaried classes as a whole. It numbers some 5,000,000 dire taxpayers and their dependants. It earns something like half the nation's income. It provides the nation with the great part of the savings that it needs. More important than all, wi its education and traditions it provides indispensable ingredien of brains, leadership, enterprise, industry, and public spiri deprived of which a nation wilts like a plant deprived of wate Prudent statesmanship would be scrupulous to secure that th part of the nation should be called upon to pay no more than i fair share of burdens. It would be the more scrupulous to do because this class is necessarily in a minority, and comparativel defenceless against attack under the conditions of mode democracy. It would be careful to secure to this part conditio favourable to its discharge of its characteristic functions, whi are so essential to general prosperity. In offending against the principles the proposals of the Budget offend against equity ar common sense.

E. HILTON YOUNG.

THE TRAGEDY OF PALESTINE

The Balfour Declaration, conveyed in a letter of November 2, 1917, to Lord Rothschild,[1] was evolved at a time when the Great War had entered upon a most critical phase. The huge Russian armies, on which the Allies relied for man-power, had nearly disintegrated[1] under the influences of revolutionary forces, and Hindenburg was able to effect a concentration against the Italians, which led to the disaster of Caporetto in October, necessitating a diversion of French and British troops from the Western Front. On the seas, the German U-boats had brought starvation in this country within measurable distance.

The convoy system had, however, been formally adopted in June, and brought into operation in October, and the control of this most dangerous menace was in prospect. The United States had become belligerents in April, and the advance guard of the great armies which were to turn the scale in France had made the passage of the Atlantic. General Allenby's campaign had been brilliantly successful, and on December 9, little more than a month after the issue of the Declaration, Jerusalem was occupied, and Palestine was in our hands.

Such were the bright patches in a sombre picture of war; but the strain upon our country was intense, and all attention was absorbed by the gigantic tasks with which we were confronted. No moment could have been worse suited for the announcement of a new policy fraught with momentous results still inscrutable. The ignorance then prevailing of conditions in Palestine was abyssmal. Few realised that there was a considerable population in this largely arid country, the size of 'gallant little Wales' which had rights of its own. Fewer had any glimmer of the long and complicated manœuvres by which the Declaration was reached, or of Zionist objects. I am convinced that Mr. Balfour, engrossed in war work at this juncture, did not realise what his declaration entailed, and his maiden speech in the House of Lords on June 21, 1922, which I followed,

[1] Five days after this fateful letter was sent 'the German agents, Lenin and Trotsky, carried out their *coup d'état*, and Russia was quickly converted into a shambles, and became a centre of revolutionary infection and a malignant enemy of the British Empire.' (*My Working Life*: Murray, 1927.)

indicated that he had not been able to find time to study a mos complex and difficult question.[*] Later, Lord Balfour said:

I see no reason why those who lived in amity under Turkish rule shoul insist on quarrelling under British rule.

It should surely have been clear that all pre-war conditions wer fundamentally changed in the view of the Palestinian Arab when successive waves of Jews, mainly from Poland and Russia were forced upon their national home against their wishes. Bu for this revolutionary policy, perfect peace would have reigne in the Holy Land after General Allenby's conquest.

Lord Balfour doubtless felt, as he said, that:

the last thing the British Government has ever desired is that they [th Arabs] should be sufferers from injustice because we try to carry out t policy of providing a Jewish home in Palestine for the Jewish people.

As certainly he was led to believe that:

The whole policy of immigration is subject to the most careful study and the character and qualification of the immigrant are subject to th most rigid scrutiny under the control of the Government,

which, unfortunately, was quite impossible in the circumstance of the influx, but is now one of the recommendations of th Commission.

The Declaration was thus stamped with the marks of haste an of imperfect study, which was inevitable at a period of suc great storm and stress. There was no one to point out that th Treaty with King Hussein, directed to detach Arabs from th Turkish cause, and the propaganda distributed in Palestine b aeroplanes with this object, could be regarded as conflictin sharply with the policy of the Jewish national home. And whe the Anglo-French Manifesto of November 14, 1918, was publishe in the villages of Palestine, no one seems to have noticed that i could be read as ruling out the Balfour policy by promisin throughout Syria

national governments and administrations which shall derive thei authority from the initiative and freewill of the people themselves, an to assure by their [the French and British Governments] support th normal workings of such governments and administrations as the people themselves have adopted.

Unless this manifesto meant what it said, it should never hav been announced to the Palestinians. At the Peace Conference i was decided that an inter-Allied Commission should ascertain an

[*] The House of Lords, on the motion of Lord Islington, decided by sixty t twenty-nine votes that the Mandate as proposed was 'unacceptable;' but, as i the case of the disastrous Declaration of London, the sound verdict of the Uppe House was ignored.

report on the wishes of the people [3]; but the French and British Governments held aloof, and the task fell to Americans, Ambassador Crane and Principal King. According to Professor Clay, of Yale University, these delegates made 'a most impartial and exhaustive inquiry,' revealing that 'the entire Christian and Moslem population' desired 'the independence of Syria,' including Palestine, and the restriction of Jewish immigration. Of this the subsequent Mandate took no account. Thus early there was the clearest evidence of the anxiety of the Palestinians, and, fearing the consequences of unrest from the Imperial point of view, I made great efforts to present the facts of the changed situation and to give warnings [4]; but more than thirteen years after our occupation of the Holy Land misconceptions of many kinds still prevail, and until the publication of the recent Report it has always been difficult to obtain information.

There are two points, with which the Shaw Commission could not deal, that require emphatic reassertion as essential factors in any impartial consideration of the complex problem of Palestine.

In the first place, the Jews have no more claims upon this poor little country than the modern Italians upon England. Their first conquest (*circa* B.C. 1451) was ruthless even in those barbarous days. After many vicissitudes and civil wars among the Semitic tribes they established a kingdom of Judah at Jerusalem about B.C. 971, which was attacked by the rival King of Israel and destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar in B.C. 588. After their partial return from the Babylonian captivity, the Jewish residue came successively under the control of Macedonian kings and Roman emperors until their final dispersion. They never ruled the whole of Palestine as now defined; but had they not, in Gibbon's words,

> discovered a fierce hatred of the dominion of Rome, which frequently broke out in the most furious massacres and insurrections,

they would probably have remained in possession after the fall of the empire at least until the Turkish conquest of 1516. As the Shaw Report justly states,

> Palestine has for 4000 years at least been the prey of the strongest of its neighbours.

We may well sympathise with the aspirations of a religion which invested [5] with divine sanctions a return to the little region that

[3] 'The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of a Mandatory Power' (Art. 22, Covenant of the League of Nations).

[4] Comp. debates in House of Lords on June 29, 1920, and June 21, 1922, with many other attempts to obtain information and state facts, also article in this Review of April 1921.

[5] In six Crusades, armies of the Christian Powers, with the inspiring motto *Volonté de Dieu*, strove between 1094 and 1240 for the possession of the holy places in the birthland of their religion.

Jews had temporarily ruled; but it is quite impossible to admit any rights over the Holy Land to Zionists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries who in most cases do not descend from Jews who ever saw Jerusalem.

In the second place, it is essential to have some knowledge of the proceedings during many years which led up to the Declaration. A volume would be needed to trace the rise and progress of a movement which marched to success in 1917 as one consequence of the World War, and I can only refer to a few signposts on the winding road. As early as 1862 Moses Hess published *Rom und Jerusalem*,[6] which contains this significant passage:

> The present political situation demands the establishment of Jewish colonies on the Suez Canal and on the banks of the Jordan.

Hess was an associate of the revolutionary Jews Marx and Lasalle, and his translator, Meyer Waxman, in an introduction, tells us that

> Hess advocated the colonisation of Palestine and the foundation of a Jewish Colonisation Association. . . . He also dreamed of a Jewish Congress demanding the support of the Powers for the purchase of Palestine.

The publication of *The Jewish State* by Theodore Herzl, who became a great Zionist leader, helped to crystallise ideas probably widespread. He was one of many Jews who foresaw the World War, and his diary, June 10, 1895, contains the following significant entry:

> Observe that the next European war can do no harm to our enterprise, because . . . as donors of money we shall certainly have a voice in the discussions when peace is concluded, and obtain the advantages of recognition in a diplomatic way,

as happened twenty-two years later. On November 24, 1895, he recorded a lunch with Sir Samuel Montagu, M.P., who 'is thinking of a great, not the old Palestine.'

The first secret Zionist Conference, held at Basle in 1897 and presided over by Herzl, marked a definite advance in the movement. At the sixth Conference, in 1903, Mr. Chamberlain's offer of Uganda as a national home was considered and apparently accepted by Herzl[7] which seems to have discredited him with the more ardent Zionists. In the *American Jewish News* of

[6] Translation issued by the New York Block Publishing Co. in 1918.

[7] 'Herzl and his agents had kept in contact with the English Government' (*Jewish Encyclopedia*). The most illuminating account of the preparations for the Declaration in London and on the Continent from August 4, 1914, onwards and of the principal personages engaged is given in the 'Political Report' of the Executive of the Zionist Organisation to the Twelfth Zionist Congress at Carlsbad, September 1921.

September 19, 1919, Litman Rosenthal recorded at length an important speech by Dr. Max Nordau shortly after this Conference, which, he states, startled a large audience 'like a mighty thunder.'

> We were all trembling and awestruck as if we had seen a vision of old.

This speech is remarkable, if correctly reported, as a key to Zionist policy. With burning eloquence Nordau recalled the 'ladder' which Cavour projected to attain his ends, and, explaining Herzl's designs, drew this striking parallel of the Zionist forecast :

> leading upward and upward : Herzl, the Zionist Conference, the British Uganda proposition, the future world war, the peace conference, where with the help of England a free and Jewish Palestine will be created.

The acceptance of Uganda was only a 'rung' of this 'ladder.'

On the immediate genesis of the Declaration two sidelights must suffice. The *Guide to Zionism*, by Jesse E. Sampter, published in America, asserted that

> The wording of it [the Declaration] came from the British Foreign Office ; but the text had been revised in the Zionist offices in America as well as in England. The British Declaration was made in the form in which the Zionists desired it.

This bold assertion is not correct ; the Zionist draft was altered ; but the 'text,' capable of meaning much or little, was certainly astute. In an address at the Cannon Street Hotel on September 21, 1919, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, on whom the mantles of Herzl and Nordau have descended, said that the Zionist movement was entirely due to the efforts of 'a small band of foreign Jews' who said to 'the British statesmen' :

> The Jews will get to Palestine whether you want it or not. There is no power on earth that can stop the Jews from getting to Palestine.

This and more should, I strongly maintain, be known to all who wish to form a clear judgment of the situation in Palestine as presented by the Shaw Commission.

The terms of the Declaration were radically changed and far expanded by those of the Mandate accepted at Geneva, which bears the impress of powerful influences and has no Parliamentary sanction. As the Commission point out,

> Several obligations of a positive character were placed upon His Majesty's Government, or upon the Palestine Government,

and, in certain respects, power was transferred from London to the League of Nations. Among the most important new 'obligations' was the recognition of the Zionist Organisation to advise and co-operate with the Administration, and, 'subject always to

the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country.' This Organisation was further to co-operate in encouraging 'close settlement of Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes.' At the same time, Hebrew, which most of the immigrants could not speak, was made a third 'official language' in the little State. The Commission declare, 'without fear of contradiction, that full effect' has been given to these provisions, which have undoubtedly tended to aggravate Arab suspicions and to promote bitter racial antagonisms.

From the start of what Lord Balfour called 'a great experiment' [8] official reticence in regard to happenings in Palestine has been marked and baffling to all who sought to inform themselves as to the operation of the new policy. In 1919 Mr. (now Sir) Herbert Samuel was asked by the Coalition Government to report on the situation left by the war. The views of so acute an observer would have enlightened the public; but when I pleaded for them,[9] and also for General Allenby's report on the riots in Jerusalem, they were refused, as have been many subsequent requests for the publication of important documents known to exist and of information certainly needed. The grant of a monopoly concession for the generation of electrical power to a Russian Jew formerly in the employ of the Kerensky Government caused unfavourable comment. The prolonged negotiations which led to conferring a concession for exploiting the immense chemical possibilities of the Dead Sea upon Mr. Novomeyski, just naturalised, were the subject of a long succession of questions in Parliament which received evasive replies, and much regarding the financial aspects of an enterprise which may prove of the greatest economic importance is still unrevealed.

The full and painstaking Report of the all-parties Commission is, therefore, peculiarly welcome at this critical period in the affairs of the Holy Land. For the first time we have an exhaustive inquiry, conducted with elaborate legal precision, which not only deals with the deplorable racial outbreak in August last, but with the whole position in Palestine as it has developed since our occupation. I can refer only to the outstanding facts now made available to the public.

The population in the middle of 1918 is stated to have been, roughly:

Moslems.	Jews.	Christians.
660,000	150,000	79,000 [10]

From 1918 to 1928 101,400 Jews entered and 26,007 left. There

[8] November 19, 1927.
[9] House of Lords, June 29, 1920.
[10] Includes some Arabs.

have been great fluctuations in the annual figures; but the average net influx has been about 9000 per annum. Of the immigrants 'approximately one-quarter' are on the land; the rest are town-dwellers, and the new city of Tel Aviv, which houses 40,000, is bankrupt in spite of a part remission of debt. The Commission give a useful analysis of the immigrants. Of adults (over sixteen) 40 per cent. are males and 29 per cent. females, which is an unsatisfactory proportion. Poland has supplied 40·5 per cent. and Russia 27 per cent. The contributions of other countries are relatively insignificant, and that of the British Empire is 0·5 per cent. Of Jewish sects 82 per cent. are Ashkenazim and only 4·5 per cent. Sephardim; 8 per cent. are returned as 'unknown.' In 1927 Jewish unemployed 'reached the high figure of 8440.'

The 'Land Problem,' explained in chapter viii., goes to the root of many difficulties. It is one justification of Arab fears for the future of their national home, and, as the Commission admit,

> a constant source of present discontent and a potential cause of future disturbance.

The Report examines in detail some of the land purchases effected by the Zionist Organisation, which, it is considered, 'are not open to any criticism' *quâ* transactions. But 'about 1746' Arab families have been 'displaced,' and hardships have evidently arisen from this dispossession of the fellahin, who have, in some cases, to be evicted by force. The Commission regards the Ordinance of 1929 as inadequate because if fails to secure to the dispossessed 'a sufficient area for the maintenance of their families.' The general verdict is that,

> taking Palestine as a whole, the country cannot support a larger agricultural population than it at present carries unless methods of farming undergo a radical change,

which depends on water supply, that cannot everywhere be provided. And Mr. Jabotinsky now demands the entry of 30,000 Jews per annum for the next sixty years, while Dr. Nordau expected a total immigration of 8,000,000 or 9,000,000, of whom 500,000 would be settled in the next few years! The economic situation in Palestine is undoubtedly critical, and, while profuse capital expenditure from Zionist contributions can bring some arid tracts under intensive cultivation, it is certain that a considerable number of Jewish immigrants cannot be made self-supporting.

The 'detailed narrative' of the disturbances will probably be regarded as the most important section of the Report. Events took the form with which we are familiar in India, and either of

the combatants was aggressive or not as local circumstances dictated. A tense situation existed, due to several contributory causes, and it needed only some incident, which the standing dispute over the Wailing Wall supplied, to start a conflagration. Protagonists of Arab and Jew may wrangle indefinitely over the 'detailed narrative' which the Commission provide, and it may not be possible to assign a single definite cause amid many provocative acts; but the organised procession to the Wall of about 300 Jewish 'youths'[11] carrying their national flag, and raising cries 'such as "The Wall is ours," "Shame on those who profane our holy places," ' etc., was a sufficient incentive. This challenging procession ended at the offices of the Zionist executive after passing

> through Moslem quarters; but there was no clash with Moslems either there or at the Wall itself.

The news of this incident rapidly spread, doubtless with exaggerations, and I trace what followed mainly to the proceedings of these 'youths,' which orthodox Jews would probably have repudiated. The total casualties were:

	Killed.	Wounded.
Arabs . . .	116 ...	232
Jews . . .	133 ...	339

Some of these casualties, mostly on the Arab side, were caused by the fire of troops and police.

Sir Boyd Merriman, in his opening speech, seemed to suggest that he was about to reveal a great Arab conspiracy, which the evidence distinctly refuted, and the verdict of the Commission is that

> the charges of premeditation and of organisation of the disturbances are not proved against the Palestine Arab executive.

But they consider it 'probable, though except in one case there is no proof,' that individuals may have 'exacerbated racial feeling after the disturbances had begun.' In view of the intense racial and religious excitement which prevailed, it would have been astonishing if this had not happened. The Mufti of Jerusalem was the object of attacks, which the Commission generally rebut; but, while admitting that he

> co-operated with the Government in their efforts both to restore peace and to prevent the extension of disorder,

they assign to him 'a share in the responsibility.' It does not seem to have occurred to them that, if he had acted otherwise and had made a strong appeal to fanaticism, the disorders would have

[11] This use of 'youths' suggests inspiration from Moscow.

taken an infinitely graver form. The other defendants in this *cause célèbre*—the Palestine Government—emerge without discredit from the inquisition.

On the Jewish side the flood of telegrams which passed between Jerusalem, London, and Zurich where the Zionist Congress was in session, seems to indicate that developments were expected, and give a glimpse of assiduous wire-pulling in full operation and of anxiety lest any blame should be cast upon the Jews. The following on August 5 from Hoofien to Mr. Jabotinsky at the Congress is interesting:

> *Doar Hayom* [12] disdains (*sic*) all action of Congress relating to kotel, and calls for revolt and violence although the public is not yet influenced thereby yet there is excitement among the youths which might lead to calamities without being of any practical utility (stop) I ask that you cable them to change their attitude, otherwise the responsibility is on them and on yourself.

On August 6 Jerusalem was asked to

> cable urgently Zioniburo London any developments Wall calculated be helpful my negotiations.

On August 18 Zioniburo cabled to Jerusalem:

> Your kotel telegram under action will wire results (stop) do utmost maintain calm co-operating with Vaad Leumi to avoid separate action their part (stop). Cable developments.

Such messages, if somewhat cryptic, are not without significance.

The great merit of the Report is that it enumerates the Arab grievances—the *causæ causantes* of these and earlier disturbances—and gives them official recognition, while suggesting some mitigations, notably 'a clear statement of policy' to be issued with 'the least possible delay.' There are other sensible proposals dealing with the regulation of immigration by 'rigid scrutiny,' the Wailing Wall (which, unfortunately, is to be dealt with by the League of Nations), the functioning of the Zionist executive, the land question, and the maintenance for the present of two infantry battalions in Palestine.[13]

The initial mistakes of the Coalition Government have already led to great loss of life and threaten a much more abundant harvest of death. We have been, and we shall be again, 'forced

[12] The organ of Mr. Jabotinsky, the Revisionist leader, which distinguished itself by inflammatory language. Mr. Jabotinsky replied 'communicating with *Doar Hayom*.'

[13] The Commission was directed 'to make recommendations as to the steps necessary to avoid a recurrence' of disorders, and it was bound to consider causes beyond and above those of the moment. The Report was, however, at once attacked by Lord Cecil and others for going 'beyond the terms of the reference,' and its mild and inevitable 'observations on matters of major policy' were discredited in advance.

to employ British troops against people fighting for their unquestioned rights,' as I wrote in 1921.[14] We have tied ourselves up in knots most difficult to disentangle. As Mr. W. H. Stoker, K.C., forcibly argued in his admirable speech of December 26, 1929, the Mandate, rejected by the House of Lords, appears flagrantly to violate Art. 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and a decision of the Hague Court on this legal point might be embarrassing.[15] For want of clear vision we have been committed to a policy leading at best to the political extinction of the Arabs in the land of their fathers and to the exasperation of the whole Moslem world. In India the rights of minorities have been our special care; in Palestine the large majority has claimed our protection of its rights and still claims that protection—in vain.

Such is the irony of circumstances that, in the long run, the deep-laid plans of the Zionists must fail. The immense funds, mainly from America, which have been poured into Palestine have necessarily, here and there, conferred some advantages on the rightful owners of the soil, as the Commission recognise. But they have not succeeded in introducing a large self-supporting Jewish population, while creating great economic difficulties. If the subsidies were to fall off, the progressive acquisition of land must cease, and a serious situation would be created. It seems essential that immigration should be stopped for at least five years in order to allow time for the economic position to be studied and to declare itself; but the contributors look for quick returns, and might fall away if new settlements could not be announced.[16]

All this was realised from the first by some of the most far-seeing Jews, who rejected political Zionism on reasoned grounds, though a stimulated wave of racial and religious enthusiasm swept in many of the original objectors.

In 1916 the Conjoint Committee of the Board of Deputies and the Anglo-Jewish Association was 'irrevocably opposed to Jewish nationalism'[17] and 'the breach widened'; but, after the Declaration, 'the great body of Anglo-Jewry became favourable to Zionism.' Later, in 1921, when the Zionist campaign was in full action, Mr. Henry Morgenthau, ex-Ambassador at Constantinople,

[14] *Nineteenth Century and After*, April 1921.

[15] The construction of the Mandate is explained at great length in the Zionist Report of 1921, which states that 'In the spring of 1919, the experts of the British Delegation in Paris opened informal negotiations with the Zionist Organisation on a draft Mandate. . . . Drafts for the Mandate were prepared for the Zionist leaders by Professor Frankfurter and Mr. Gans.' The Zionists obtained nearly all they desired; but there is no record of any consultation with the Arabs, whose vital interests were at stake.

[16] The Zionist organisations must, therefore, seek to force the pace.

[17] Report of the executive of the Zionist Organisation, 1921.

and well informed on Near Eastern affairs, emphatically expressed his deliberate opinion :

> Zionism is the most stupendous folly in Jewish history. I assert that it is wrong in principle, that it is unsound in economics, fantastical in its politics, and sterile in its spiritual ideals. Where it is not pathetically visionary it is a cruel playing with the hopes of a people blindly seeking their way out of age-long miseries.

The intrinsic justice of this remarkable verdict is becoming more and more evident ; but the disastrous policy, thus ruthlessly denounced, persists and is heading towards a catastrophe.

The introduction, under the ægis of British bayonets, of Bolshevism into the Holy Land must be abhorrent to all orthodox Jews, and already there have been plain signs that this curse of humanity is insidiously at work. As a centre for propagating world revolution throughout the Near East, the advantages of Palestine have not been neglected at Moscow.

Meanwhile, what is the outlook before the Arab population and its Moslem sympathisers ? They watch the gradual alienisation of the lands of their fathers and the continuing influx of Polish and Russian Jews, some eminently undesirable, into their national home. They feel economic stringency arising from taxation far above the level in Turkish times, and they note duties applied to build up Jewish industries which increase costs to Arab consumers. They are denied the fulfilment of the political promises held out in the Covenant of the League of Nations pending such time as the Jewish minority reaches dimensions sufficient to safeguard Zionist ambitions. They live under the growing menace of being dominated, or squeezed out of their own country. The far-reaching objects of the Zionists are well known to them and are constantly being reaffirmed.[18] The *Jewish Chronicle* at the outset demanded

> the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine—a commonwealth as Jewish as England is English.

But the word ' commonwealth ' was eliminated from the Zionist draft mandate. They do not forget that the late Mr. Israel Zangwill suggested that they should ' fold up their tents and silently steal away.' Where to ? It would be easy to quote statement after statement from Zionist sources in which the policy in view—whether it is that of the British Government or not—has been nakedly proclaimed. What must be the attitude of Arabs in face of threats against their liberties thus publicly brandished ? They are confronted with the most powerful publicity agencies in the world, able to create opinion everywhere, and especially in America and in this country, while their own resources in this respect are insignificant.

[18] By Messrs. Sacher and Jabotinsky at least before the Commission.

Helpless despair always leads to violence, and if Jewish immigration proceeds and arms are smuggled into Palestine by Jews, as has happened, dangerous conflicts on a larger scale, of which the Commission give warning, must be expected, and can only be averted, or suppressed after a toll of death, by British armed forces. Is the Holy Land to be permanently the scene of the repression by force of a people who firmly believe that they are defending their inalienable rights ?

That is the Tragedy of Palestine.

SYDENHAM OF COMBE.

THE END OF THE NAVAL CONFERENCE

IN a previous number [1] the story of the Naval Conference has been told to the middle of February.

After some weeks spent in smooth generalisations the Conference on St. Valentine's Day got down to bedrock. Japan insisted on an equality in submarines with the United States and British Empire, while France asked for ten 8-inch gun cruisers against the British fifteen—a demand which gave a heavy jar to the equanimity of the Conference. On February 17 it suffered another shock by the defeat of M. Tardieu's Government on a question of finance. M. Chautemps, who formed a Government on February 21, was defeated in his turn on February 25, and by March 3 M. Tardieu was once more in the saddle. The large figure of 724,479 tons [2] put forward by France was a disappointment to the Conference, and the first idea of a solution arose in the form of a Consultative Pact—that is, an agreement to consult together whenever the international horizon became dangerously dark. It received little enough encouragement at this stage, but was to crop up again later on.

This was a critical time for the Conference, and Mr. Edward Price Bell, writing at the time, laid stress on the point that the Conference was a Peace Conference summoned for the express purpose of reducing armaments in the cause of peace, and not of adjusting relative strengths in readiness for prospective wars.[3]

A very different note was sounded on February 26 at a meeting called by the Navy League. There Mr. Churchill strongly criticised the British Government for its 'squeezability' and lack of definite principle. Naval requirements ought, he said, to be fixed by ourselves; as a practical step let the different delegations table their programmes in a spirit of neighbourly and sober goodwill.[4]

This view, expressed by a man who, as First Lord of the

[1] *Nineteenth Century and After*, March 1930.

[2] That is, by 1936, including battleships; 482,776 tons in cruisers, destroyers, and submarines.

[3] *Observer*, February 23.

[4] *The Times*, February 27; also *The Navy*, Apri 1930.

Admiralty, set up the Naval Staff and had the Navy ready when the clock struck the fateful hour, deserves respectful consideration, but it amounts to an absolute renunciation of the idea that defensive needs are relative and are dependent on the possibility of attack. It is impossible to maintain that seventy cruisers are in themselves an inherent necessity to the peaceful passage of maritime trade entirely irrespective of any possible antagonist. Naval needs are dependent on the strength of possible aggressors. They are further dependent on the likelihood of war.

The idea of a two-Power standard arose in the 'eighties, when there was a possibility of a war with France and Russia ; the idea of a one-and-half-Power standard arose out of the Algerciras Conference in 1906 and Germany's attitude of menace. There may be such a thing as an irreducible minimum of naval strength relative to the circumstances of the time, but there can be no such thing as an estimate of naval strength independent of some particular antagonist. Naval needs must be focussed on a specific situation involving particular potential enemies, and must therefore be relative to it and them. Supposing Germany in 1908 had tabled her programme, as she practically did in her Navy Laws, would it have been sufficient for Mr. Churchill to have quietly tabled his without taking Germany's into account ? Things do not happen that way. Naval needs are relative, and if one can seize a time, like the present, of lessened probability of war in order to reduce armaments, their reduction will in its turn further reduce the probability of war, and one may hope to break free from the deplorably vicious circle in which the probability of war leads to competitive arming, and competitive arming increases the probability of war.

By the end of February it was felt that the Conference was on its last legs. It was not, however, quite so bad as that. On March 6 the Experts Committee met to resume the consideration of the submarine question. America and Great Britain presented a figure of 1800 tons as a maximum size, which Italy was prepared to accept ; Japan asked for a maximum of 2000 tons, to which America and Great Britain were prepared to agree, while France agreed, but asked to be allowed to keep some vessels of 3000 tons.[5]

The principal objection to these figures is that they represent the old rut of maximums and contribute absolutely nothing to disarmament. The German submarine during the war ran to something like 900 tons. When 10,000 tons was laid down as the maximum for cruisers in 1921 the only result was that the

[5] *Surcouf*, building, is 2880 tons ; United States *V.5* is 2760 tons ; Great Britain's *X.1* is 2425 tons.

various navies, not one of which had a cruiser so large at the time, started to lay them down—*Hinc illæ lachrymæ.*

On March 8 an important conversation took place 'in greatest secrecy' between Mr. MacDonald and M. Briand on the old question of guarantees against a prospective war.[6] The idea could not have been palatable to Mr. MacDonald, for that very day he broadcasted an address to America in which he said that 'we shall not agree to base any treaty on entangling military alliances, but some of us shall strive to secure a pledge of goodwill and pacific intention.'[7] A deadlock ensued, marked by deadly acerbity in the French Press and by almost dead silence on the British side. On Saturday, March 15, Mr. MacDonald had important meetings first with M. Briand, then with Mr. Stimson, and the next day, Sunday, March 16, a long conversation with M. Briand. This was evidently a troublous time. The old-fashioned opinion is that peace is best maintained by preparation for war. The world is now beginning to grasp that peace on this basis is merely a temporary equilibrium of antagonistic forces, and it is Mr. MacDonald's often expressed opinion that to organise for war in order to maintain peace is neither an effective nor reasonable conception.[8] He is supported by Mr. Hoover and a strong body of opinion everywhere.

This interview, unfortunately, gave rise to an impression on the French side that the Prime Minister intended to approach the Italian Government over the attitude of the Italian delegation,[9] and the French Press burst into a severe criticism of Mr. MacDonald's inability to obtain concessions from Italy. Meanwhile Senator Reed (America) and Mr. Matsudaira (Japan) had come to an agreement by which Japan was prepared to reduce her demand for a 70 per cent. ratio in 8-inch gun cruisers in exchange for a higher percentage of destroyers and submarines.

Japan has at present four 10,000-ton 8-inch gun cruisers built and four building, together with four *Saratakas* of 7100 tons—a total tonnage of 108,400 tons. The United States made a provisional reduction of their 8-inch gun cruisers demand to fifteen, and the strength in tons was to be[10]:

	United States.		Japan.
Cruisers, 8-inch gun .	150,000	..	108,400
,, 6-inch gun .	145,000	..	100,000
Destroyers . .	150,000	..	100,000
Submarines . .	52,000	..	52,000

[6] *Sunday Times*, March 9.
[7] *Sunday Times*, March 9.
[8] *Observer*, March 16.
[9] *The Times*, March 24.
[10] *Sunday Times*, February 16.

The United States retained, however, the right to build eighteen 8-inch gun cruisers, agreeing not to build more than fifteen by 1935. The Japanese Naval Staff put up a stout fight against the agreement. It was a concession in appearance only—*Yumei Miyitsu*—'having name without reality,' for the United States would obtain eighteen large cruisers in the end, thus gaining them the ten to six ratio. The principal deadlock, however, still remained. France refused to reduce her tonnage demands without a guarantee of security, and Italy, refusing to yield to France's request for definite figures, stoutly held to her general demand for parity with the strongest Continental Power.

On Wednesday, March 19, there was a great shuffling of figures dealing with French and Italian tonnage, but nothing came of it, though Signor Grandi had dinner the next day at the House of Commons with Mr. MacDonald, where it is permissible to assume that the possibility of something less than rigid parity may have been discussed. M. Briand went off to Paris. So long as Great Britain and the United States refused a pact of security, and so long as Italy clung to the idea of parity, France was determined to cling to her naval programme. And so the deadlock continued and the delegates yawned.

On Sunday, March 23, a ray of hope crept in. Signor Grandi apparently suggested that the three Powers in agreement should negotiate a Three-Power Treaty, while the Conference should adjourn for six months to let France and Italy seek for a basis of agreement. On Tuesday, March 25, a further measure of hope revived, for the United States delegation, though strongly opposed to a pact binding to naval or military measures, stated that it had no objection to a consultative pact as such.[11]

> It could not enter into such a pact as a *quid pro quo* for the reduction of forces by another Power, but if France's demand for security could be satisfied in some other way, then the danger of misunderstanding a consultative pact would be eliminated and the question would be approached from an entirely different standpoint. In such a case the American delegates would consider the matter with an entirely free mind.

In other words, if Great Britain would supply the guarantee America would agree to a procedure of consultation. The arrangement might well seem one-sided, but the distinction was a real distinction, and had to be clearly defined if the French were not to say subsequently that they had reduced their forces in the belief that a consultative pact would result in military measures. But who was to provide the guarantee in the face of Mr. MacDonald's categorical statement of March 9 'against entangling military alliances,' which remained the corner-stone of British

[11] *The Times*, March 26.

policy. A ray of hope, however, had shone on the tro waters, and on March 27 the heads of delegations decided to a plenary session on April 4. It did not, however, take p Meanwhile the experts were vainly striving to shape wording of the Covenant and the Locarno Treaty into formula which would embody the French idea of security. again they plodded along that weary road of quasi-alliances w America rightly refuses to follow. To seek the cure for w the menace of war is, as Mr. Garvin puts it,[12] to try and cast devils by Beelzebub, the prince of devils.

Sunday, March 30, was not wholly uneventful. The P Minister returned to London and unexpectedly summon meeting of the British delegation at 9 p.m. An official state was issued that night to say that 'any attempt to undertake further military commitment is out of the question, for would be tantamount to tying ourselves down to engag military operations without being able to control the situa from which they had arisen.'[13]

The Conference was moving at this time on the narrowe narrow lines—namely, to evolve out of the Locarno Tre which was devised against Germany, some new form of secu which would be available against someone else—presum Italy. Its issue was degenerating into the interpretatio existing agreements in the light of prospective wars. Once it was busy, not with the business of peace, but with the busi of the Peace of Versailles. A happy contrast to these tort quests came from Japan. The tonnage figures in the F Matsudaira proposal had been accepted with certain reservat though Admiral Kato Kanji, the chief of the naval staff, felt bound to submit a memorial to the Emperor to say th left Japan inadequately protected.[14]

The way remained clear for a tonnage agreement bet Great Britain, America, and Japan, which lies at the basis o Three-Power Treaty.[15]

By April 3 the Italian delegation was getting restless at interminable search for a formula of security, and Signor Gr stated that he could not take part in discussions concerning duties of members of the League of Nations unless all o nations were included, for it was impossible to see why obligations of Great Britain should differ from those impose other nations. In the Italian view the Conference was not appropriate place to discuss formulas involving the interp

[12] *Observer*, March 30.
[13] *The Times*, March 31.
[14] *The Times*, April 3.
[15] *The Times*, April 2.

tions of existing treaties. And it may be added that the Italian view was a view very generally held. The persistency of the French in trying to transform the Conference into an instrument for evolving a formula of security gave rise to considerable feeling which reflected itself, not only in the Italian delegation, but in the House of Commons and in the United States. It portrayed the same ardent concentration on the idea of war which turned the United States away from Europe in 1919.

On April 4 a seventh draft of the original formula of security was before the British and French delegates.[16] At Rome by this time it was considered that a Five-Power Treaty was out of the question, and Signor Grandi's statement was regarded as the entry of a 'breath of fresh air into a heavy and poisonous atmosphere.' In the United States the Democrats began to argue once more against a Three-Power Treaty on the plea that it would mean, not naval reduction, but naval additions. This is precisely where the French policy is bound to lead, and it is precisely the road we should not follow. Armaments depend on the possibility of war, and as no one believes in the possibility of a war with France it is absurd for us to enter into a competition with her.

The fact is that the implications of the Kellogg Pact are only now beginning to be seen. The Pact is not a nebulous Milky Way; it is a definite road to peace built on a determination to remain at peace. The League of Nations stands as one of the principal agencies for the peace of the world, but the cumbrous provisions of Article XVI. which contemplate a war to put down war have become obsolete. The only safe provision is Article XI., which makes war or the threat of war a matter of concern to the whole League, 'which shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.'

From April 8 to 10 the delegates were searching diligently for a formula, and France is said to have obtained the concession that 'when the Council shall have unanimously decreed military sanctions, England agrees that they shall be taken *ipso facto*, and that the recommendation have the force of law.'[17] The British delegation did not make it clear that the concession, whatever it might mean, was to be conditional on a reduction in tonnage, and the French, without conceding a single ton, carried off the concession in order to produce it at Geneva as morally binding.[18] May it be suggested that these are worn-out tricks of Old World diplomacy entirely out of place at a peace conference? France

[16] *The Times*, Apri 5.
[17] *Le Matin*, April 8, 1930.
[18] *Daily Telegraph*, April 9, 1930.

even proposed that Great Britain should pledge herself not to vote at the Council of the League in the case of an otherwise unanimous decision for naval and military action. The proposal could hardly be serious. Great Britain was to be ready to enforce a blockade which might bring her up against the United States without so much as having voted on the matter at issue.

Italy offered to agree not to build beyond the French programme in cruisers, destroyers, and submarines up to 1936, but this was not acceptable to France. April 10 was the busiest day of the Conference. A treaty was certain and the delegates met to arrange the terms. It was decided to draft it in three parts. Parts I. and II. form what is called the Five-Power Treaty. Part III. constitutes the Three-Power Treaty. Part I. declares a 'battleship holiday.' No Power will build any new battleship up to 1936. France and Italy, however, retain the right to use up a certain amount of tonnage belonging to battleships that have reached their age limit since 1921 and have not been replaced. The tonnage available is about 75,000 tons. It is also agreed that naval strength shall be measured by global tonnage, divided into certain categories.

There is agreement, too, as to the maximum size of the submarine, which is to be bigger than any submarine during the war. It has not been possible to reduce the tonnage of aircraft carriers, but their armament has been reduced to 6-inch. To France and Italy the only gain is the 'battleship holiday.' Part IV. consists of the treaty for 'humanising' the use of the submarine in time of war. Part III. contains the valuable agreement arrived at by the three Powers—British Empire, United States, and Japan—on the limitation of tonnage.

In substance it amounts to this:

(*a*) Complete parity between the British Empire and the United States in all classes of ships.

(*b*) Japan to have 60 per cent. of the strength of the British Empire and America in battleships and big cruisers, 70 per cent. in light cruisers and destroyers, and equality in submarines.

(*c*) This means in tonnage figures (numbers of ships in brackets):

	British Empire.	United States.	Japan.
Cruisers, 8-inch . .	[15] 146,800	[18] 180,000	108,400
Cruisers, 6·1-inch .	192,200	143,500	100,450
Destroyers . .	150,000	150,000	105,500
Submarines . .	52,700	52,700	52,700
	541,700	526,200	367,050

The United States undertakes, however, not to complete more than fifteen 8-inch gun cruisers before 1935. The United

States is free to retain the figure of fifteen and to put the difference into 6·1-inch gun cruisers, increasing their tonnage from 143,500 to 189,000. If, however, the United States elects to build eighteen, then Japan is to be free to advance a claim for an increase of 8-inch cruiser tonnage in 1935.[19] The compromise is eminently sane.

(*d*) The three Powers agree to accelerate the scrapping of battleships stipulated by the Washington Treaty and to reduce the battleship strength to 15—15—9. The battleships to be scrapped will be for the British Empire five—namely, *Marlborough, Emperor of India, Benbow, Tiger, Iron Duke* (to be allotted to training); for the United States three—namely, *Florida, Utah* and *Arkansas* (training); for Japan *Hiyei*. Great Britain stipulates that the figure of 150,000 tons for destroyers must be conditional on a definite figure for destroyers and submarines agreed upon by the European Powers represented at London.[19]

Such are the main lines of the Treaty. Apart from its primary virtue in scattering the clouds of competitive armament gathering over the Atlantic, the Treaty represents a solid economical gain. The building holiday will mean to Great Britain a saving of at least 50,000,000*l*.[20] up to 1936, and of something like 4,000,000*l*. on account of ships scrapped; to the United States and Japan it will mean a saving of some 60,000,000*l*.[21] each.

Much greater is the gain in terms of goodwill. The ground lost at Geneva has been recovered. The atmosphere of London has sometimes been gloomy, but it has not been rendered poisonous by the worst sort of propaganda. At Geneva the figures put forward for Great Britain and America in cruisers, destroyers, and submarines were 737,000 tons. At London they have dropped to 541,700 tons, a triumph for the doctrine of relativity.[22] In the case of destroyers the British tonnage at present built, building, and authorised is 190,000, to be reduced to 150,000. In America the reduction will be still more drastic, and something over eighty destroyers will have to be marked for scrapping.

The great bone of contention at Geneva—the 8-inch gun cruiser—has been settled. At Geneva the Americans would not come below twenty-three; they have now agreed to eighteen, and to meet Japan will not build beyond fifteen before 1935.

Another matter has come rather belatedly to light. It appears that the new French submarine *Surcouf*, launched at Cherbourg

[19] Memorandum on Naval Conference, Cmd. 3547, *The Times*, April 17.

[20] Possibly 60,000,000*l*. or 70,000,000*l*. (First Lord, Mr. Alexander, at Sheffield, April 11, 1930.)

[21] Mr. Stimson's Broadcast, April 4.

[22] Mr. Gibson's, not Einstein's.

in November, is to carry 8-inch, and not 6-inch, guns, a point which escaped notice till it was detected by the Italians. A word about her, then. She is of 3250 tons, more or less experimental, with Diesel motors for eighteen knots, an armoured upper deck and two 8-inch guns in turrets. She is to cost 2,000,000*l*. The value of these heavily gunned submarines is doubtful; the weapon of the submarine is the torpedo, and not the gun. During the war we built one submarine with a 12-inch gun, but she was absolutely useless.

Safeguarding Clause

But the Three-Power Treaty is not without malignant influences shadowing it. The Admiralty has been bound to claim the right to adjust the British programme according to the strength of European Powers. This claim on April 11 made the American delegation anxious as to how the Senate would take it. The British Admiralty, however, laid great stress on it and has obtained a safeguarding clause to the following effect:

> If the requirements of national security are materially affected by new construction of a non-signatory Power, then the Party concerned will notify the other Parties as to the increase required, specifying the proposed increases and the reasons therefor and shall be entitled to make such increase. Thereupon the other parties shall be entitled to make a proportionate increase in the categories specified.[23]

This apparently means that the tonnage can be increased only in the event of certain definite contingencies; it also means that the increase can be undertaken without a Conference on information being sent through the ordinary diplomatic channels. Co-signatories will then be entitled to increase their own quota proportionately in the same category or categories concerned, and in no other. In other words, if on account of an increase of the French or Italian programmes Great Britain feels compelled to build three more 8-inch gun cruisers or twenty more destroyers, then the United States may do the same. But that is precisely what the peace party in the United States do not want to do. They do not want a Disarmament Treaty to become a basis for increased armament on their part. It was this point elaborated by Mr. Shearer that wrecked the Geneva Conference.

The Senate—that final arbiter of foreign treaties—will certainly examine anything of the sort very closely. What, then, are the actual figures now at issue?

[23] Treaty, Art. 21.

TONNAGE

	British.		French.
Battleships .	[15] 473,650	...	209,257 [24]
Cruisers, 8-inch .	[15] 146,800	...	[10] 124,859
Cruisers, 6·1-inch .	192,200	...	258,297 (Cruisers, 6·1-inch and Destroyers)
Destroyers . .	150,000	...	
Submarines . .	52,700	...	99,629
	1,015,350	...	692,042

This means that we have in large cruisers a ratio of about even to six, in small cruisers and destroyers a ratio of seven to ve, and in submarines a ratio of roughly five and a quarter to en. The wisest policy would be to adhere to our present figures nless there was very strong reason to alter them. In 1928 we ccepted the principle of parity [25] with France in cruisers carrying uns above 6-inch. There is no urgent reason to abandon it. Ve remain stronger than France both in numbers and strategical osition. She is on the flank of our western approach and we are n the flank of hers.

But this is not the way to think of the situation in time of eace. The outlook is wrong. The fighting services must think f war, but they need not regard friendly Powers as immediate nemies. Why should we now press to be twice as strong as rance when in 1928 we actually accepted the principle of parity ith her in cruisers carrying guns above 6-inch? The two-Power andard arose at a time when France and Russia were opposed o us. It did not mean a standard of twice the strength of any ngle Power; it meant an equality with two Powers who were hought at the time likely to attack us.

THE FIFTY CRUISERS

The number of British cruisers is provisionally fixed at fifty, figure constantly attacked because it is stated that seventy ruisers were fixed by the last Government as an irreducible ininum. The statement is quite incorrect. The figure seventy as never been given as such in any First Lord's statement. It ppeared for the first time at Geneva in 1927. Yet from 1925 o 1928 we never had more than fifty-five cruisers actually built nd have only fifty-four at the present time.

[24] Under Washington Treaty 175,000. The *Statut Naval* of 1924 provides r, by 1942, cruisers and destroyers, 390,000 tons; submarines, large, 96,000 ns; submarines, small, 30,000 tons.

[25] 'His Majesty's Government . . . are prepared to accept that an equal aximum tonnage for submarines and cruisers should be fixed for the great ival Powers.' (Crewe to Briand, July 28, 1928, Cmd. 3211, p. 26. From the ntext this apparently applied only to cruisers carrying guns above 6-inch.)

Geneva failed because the limitation level was higher than the level actually existing. There can be no such thing as an absolute mininum. For instance, it was stated at Geneva that five cruisers were required for every three battleships. As the London Conference, then, has been able to reduce our battleships by five, the irreducible minimum of cruisers must have fallen by seven or eight. Again, much will depend on how cruisers are used. The tale of the *Emden* and German raiders is often told to stir up public feeling for cruisers. Actually the number of ships sunk by the *Emden* was comparatively few, and would have been much less had a convoy system been running at the time.

Before the Conference the French Ministry of Marine published some figures to show that the British Empire required a great many more cruisers than the United States. They were partly based on the length of our coastline. This is a completely fallacious index. The length of the Indian coastline has little bearing on the matter so long as we hold the Suez Canal.

Lessons of the Conference

Geneva and London have at least taught us something of the aims, spirit, and procedure needed at Disarmament Conferences. At Geneva we learnt that a Disarmament Conference must not develop into an Armament Conference. Once they depart from the broader aspects of reduction and enter upon wearisome discussions as to categories and types, they tend to increase rather than diminish armaments, for the decision passes then to the naval expert, who is bound to think in terms of war and to consider the contingencies of war. The Washington Conference was successful in its earlier stages because it confined itself to a concrete scheme of reduction. Its later stages were wrecked by the attempt of the stronger Powers to abolish the submarine, which the weaker ones viewed as an essential weapon of defence.

To expect a Disarmament Conference to settle such questions as the types and numbers of cruisers required by one country *vis-à-vis* another without increasing armaments is unreasonable, because it puts the delegates in the position of potential enemies and forces them to manœuvre for every possible kind of technical and numerical advantage. One country wants large cruisers, another small ones, and a third may prefer to put its money in submarines. Each country should be entitled to settle such questions in accordance with its particular needs and the position and resources of its most probable opponents. The encroachment of an international conference into this sphere of responsibility can only cause friction, and may tend to increase rather than diminish armaments. For example, in the Anglo-French compromise of

1928[26] it was agreed that France and Great Britain should be allotted the same maximum tonnage of cruisers carrying guns larger than 6-inch. The number of British cruisers has since been provisionally fixed by the Anglo-American Agreement of 1930. But on the French demanding a cruiser force which would still leave the British with an approximate superiority of seven to five there arises an immediate outcry for an increased British programme. If numbers and types of ships are to be settled rigidly by so-called Disarmament Conferences, all flexibility and the power to adjust programmes will be lost, and countries will only be able to compensate themselves by increased armaments.

The provisional Anglo-American Agreement is a real achievement which reflects great credit on the delegates, but the same object might perhaps have been more satisfactorily achieved by agreeing to a specified total tonnage of cruisers, destroyers, and submarines without tying the two countries down to a formula which may be unsuitable to particular conditions and circumstances. Disarmament will make smooth progress in the future only if a basis of global tonnage be taken and if our efforts at reduction are confined to :

(*a*) Reducing total tonnage.
(*b*) Reducing the size and armament of the individual ships in each category.

The idea of limitation by categories simplifies, perhaps, the work of Admiralties and Navy Departments, but it increases friction and decreases the possibility of progressive disarmament.

The London Conference has conclusively proved that public opinion moves ahead of Governments on questions of disarmament, and that greater publicity in the negotiations would help matters forward. A good example of this was the American proposal for an additional ' Dreadnought ' to balance the *Rodney*, which was quashed by American public opinion as soon as it was raised. It has been stated in some quarters that it was the American delegation who opposed reduction in the number and size of battleships ; if this be so, the American public would have liked to know it and would certainly have had something to say. The truth is that both American and British naval opinion will always be opposed to any move in that direction. Both navies will stand by one another, and each will say that of course he is ready to do it, but that the other will not agree. When the General Board of the Navy took up that attitude in 1921 Mr. Hughes, the American Secretary of State, acted independently of the Navy Department in putting forward the large scrapping

[26] Cmd. 3211 of 1928, p. 26.

programme at Washington. No one now questions the wisdom of the action which sunk 2,000,000 tons of battleships.

The London Conference, then, has attained a great deal in an agreement between Great Britain and the United States on the subject of parity. Parity has been vehemently criticised on the grounds that it is not possible to equate the naval fighting power of two nations. Must not, for instance, the Panama Canal be taken into consideration—not to mention America's wheat harvest ? From America comes a similar stream of unhelpful criticism. Should not the British mercantile marine be limited—not to mention the Suez Canal and Malta ? What really matters, however, is not parity, but charity. The question whether the tonnage and 'gunnage' of one fleet is slightly stronger than another is of comparatively minor importance. The real task is, not to equate the fleets, but to remove a poisonous virus of ill-will and suspicion arising from the stupid and senseless naval competition which has sprung up like a filthy fungus between the two countries. The adoption of a formula of parity is the only way of counteracting armament and counter-armament propaganda and counter-propaganda (conducted by quite excellent people in entire but stupid sincerity) which must eventually lead to war.

In order to appreciate the American point of view it should be remembered that she did not question our legitimate belligerent rights during the war ; her objections were aimed at our Orders in Council, which so far outstepped the limits of international law that they were repudiated by our own courts and nearly involved us in hostilities with the United States. America's determination to have a fleet strong enough to safeguard her legitimate interests in such cases is entirely intelligible, and it may even increase our security by deterring us from the risky policy which we followed in 1812 and 1916.

Those who are opposed to the limitation of navies by agreement should remember that if it were not for the agreement reached at Washington in 1921 we would now be in a definitely inferior position. The strength of the American demand for parity is largely due to the fact that she sacrificed her prospective superiority of capital ships in order to obtain it. The Geneva Conference increased her resentment by leaving an impression in America that we would only agree to parity in cruisers, as in the case of battleships, when she had outbuilt us. It was this impression that enabled the General Board of the Navy to bring forward a building programme amounting to 200,000,000*l*. The fact that American opinion is on the whole opposed to large armaments prevented its materialisation, but some chance incident might have swayed the balance the other

y, and instead of parity we might now be on the way to a sition of definite American superiority.

The idea that American and British rivalry can be avoided by ch ignoring the other and building to what is vaguely called eir own requirements is impracticable. The contemporary rrespondence of Colonel House and Lord Cecil shows that the itish Government was very seriously disturbed by the American st-war naval programme. And besides, Admiralties and Navy epartments do not work in that atmosphere of serene detachent. Look at the fuss caused in America in 1924 by the mere mour that the elevation of the guns of British battleships was ing increased. On this side one of the principal reasons of the eneva failure was the American proposal to devote more tonnage large cruisers than the British wanted. How absurd it is to ggest that each should build what they want without thinking the other, when it is the peculiar task of the most important vision of the Naval Staff to watch carefully what the other is ing.

The serious effect of Anglo-American rivalry should not be iderrated. In normal circumstances a certain amount of opaganda used to goad people on to competitive effort may not any great harm, but in times of strain and difficulty it will bear e same fruit as in 1914. In breaking the vicious circle Britain d America have not only liberated themselves, but have set an ample which others will eventually follow. Great Britain and nerica have rejected the doctrine that security can only be und by being stronger than another. Japan, in the serene nity of her outlook, has done as much as anyone for the peace the world. General Sherman looked on war as primarily an archical state of mind, and only secondarily a matter of ysical blows. He cemented the United States into one whole a 'peace of absolution.' By implementing the spirit of the ellogg Pact the London Treaty will increase security and open a new path to progressive disarmament.

K. G. B. DEWAR.

THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK

I

MINORITY government may be uncomfortable, for the governors. For the governed it has one supreme merit—it is not dull. A small word, dull; but in political life, as in private, dulness is literally deadly. The dulness of the Baldwin *régime* wrote its epitaph. And rightly so. In times, like the present, of world-wide stress and far-reaching structural change, a Government which, dull itself, promotes dulness in its citizens is guilty of a crime. So short are memories, and so profound is the transformation of opinion that has taken place in the brief space of a year, that the apathetic tedium of the long rule of King Log, from 1924 to May last, is well-nigh forgotten. It is forgotten that then Parliament, if mentioned at all, was mentioned with contempt; that signs of what the French succinctly call '*m'en fichisme*' began to appear on all sides; and that, partly as a consequence of this—since, for good or evil, we are a politically minded nation—a creeping paralysis of pessimism began to invade the British mind, and to be shared, thanks to the able assistance afforded by a supine foreign policy, by our neighbours in Europe and the United States.

Now a 'farewell to all that' has been spoken, almost without our realising it. The change is so thorough that we take it for granted and hardly observe that it has taken place—or why. The fact is patent. It is not only that the galleries of the House of Commons are crowded and the lobbies thronged with Pressmen, or that the newspapers 'feature' political news and their readers turn to those columns on opening their papers. Talk—that most sensitive register of opinion—is, wherever two or three are gathered together, sooner or later—and generally sooner rather than later—about politics. The accent of that talk is as notable as its subject. There is a vein of political chat that amuses parliamentarians, and nobody else (sadly blind as the hardened M.P. is apt to be to the patient suffering of his interlocutor). Plenty of that nowadays; plenty also, however, of the kind of real political conversation that concerns itself, not with the fortunes of the division lobby, but with the substance of social

leas. Sociology is nearer to being fashionable than it has been ince the war. There is an interest, genuine and widespread, ı the ideas that lie behind party alignments. Now, is this ıerely a London phenomenon? Everywhere there is a keen nd alert interest in politics. It exists even in areas like Lancaaire, where unemployment is most severe.

Of course, it may be said that this interest arises merely out f the fact that a minority Government lives with its life in its and; that it does, as Blake bade us do, live dangerously. ome people hold that the Government is really too safe. Howrer that may be, I do not believe that the kind of uncertainty erived from the statistical position of the present Government : the main explanation of the interest felt in it, and, as a result, ı politics generally. The average citizen, after all, has no such aste for elections as the professional suffers. The latter, nhappily for his general mental processes, lives with the 'great ssize' forever before him: crises are meat and drink to him, s to the journalist; every bye-election is a matter of life and eath; he snuffs the fray, from afar, like a war horse. Not so ıe citizen. At the present hour he assuredly is not thirsting for n election. That is just as well, for he is very unlikely indeed ɔ get one. General elections, after all, are not natural catasophes, but humanly directed events. They occur, therefore, hen somebody wants one, within the limits set by the Quinuennial Act. That 'somebody' may, when one is talking ı a situation where the Government is in a minority, be the pposition, the Government, or the country.

Let us take these factors in order, beginning with the Oppotion. That a Government with 289 supporters out of a possible 15 can be defeated in the lobby is a premise that admits of no rgument. But Mr. MacDonald made it clear, in his first llocution to the House as Prime Minister, that only on some sue which he regarded as a vital one, an issue of principle, ould such defeat be treated seriously. He made this declaration t a time when the atmosphere was thick and threatening, uivering with the stage lightning of Mr. Lloyd George's emphatic *at* that Liberals would permit no Socialism. Although the overnment has, as a matter of record, been defeated in the ɔbbies twice, the occasions have been unimportant: the Liberals arried an amendment to a sub-section of the Mines Bill that as in no sense vital to the Bill and raised no issue or principle, east of all a Socialist one; the Tories refused one Monday to llow the suspension of the 11 o'clock rule—of which the moral nerely was that the quite brilliant whipping of the Government arty had in the previous week been just a trifle overdone. Only one issue of confidence has been presented, and then the

ground—Mr. Snowden's refusal to anticipate his Budget so far as the McKenna and safeguarding duties were concerned—was carefully chosen by the major Opposition so as to avoid any danger of a serious result. The truth, plain then, and made plainer in every week that has since passed, was that neither section of the Opposition desires an appeal to the country. The Conservatives have no programme and the Liberals no prospects. The 'free hand to extend safeguarding,' which is all that Mr. Baldwin now claims, after the not very edifying transactions between him and the grotesque 'United Empire Party,' was, after all, the policy of his Government between 1924 and 1929, and so puny were the mice which the mountain brought forth in those years of unlimited power that it seems pretty certain that he will, sooner or later, be forced into something like a fully Protectionist policy, unless Lords Beaverbrook and Rothermere are intermediately visited by some happier inspiration for his guidance—or destruction. Actually the only clear line discernible in Mr. Baldwin's recent actions and inactions is a firm intention to continue to lead the Conservative Party. With very real skill he has got rid of any dangerous rivals. Mr. Churchill may be counted on to keep himself impossible; Sir Douglas Hogg and Sir William Joynson-Hicks have been relegated to the Lords, where the latter has unluckily found plenty of time to write a series of mischievously ignorant articles about Egypt in a vein worthy of Lord Birkenhead. That done, Mr. Baldwin can tranquilly loll between the Chamberlain brothers, with the knowledge that neither of them, for different reasons, is dangerously near the throne. So secure, Mr. Baldwin seems to be waiting to repeat, in rather worse conditions, the blind error of his Protectionist plunge of 1923. While he waits he prevents any working arrangement with Liberals, such as might defeat the Government—since Free Trade is the one issue on which Liberals are bound to part company with him.

The Liberals, on this, have got their ingenious leader tied and bound. In 1929 he was pretty plainly angling for some form of working arrangement between himself and Mr. Churchill; the early months of 1930 found him still occupied with such ideas, though they were losing colour fast; now, however, he has been called back into the fold by his own supporters. The new Liberal Party, though not much larger than that of 1925–9, is quite different in character. It knows that Mr. Lloyd George is a liability; it quite plainly has a mind of its own. Thanks to the 'threat to Free Trade,' it has prevailed, and it is now with Mr. Snowden rather than Mr. Churchill that Mr. Lloyd George goes to luncheon. On the critical clauses of the Coal Mines Bill (which, though a long way from nationalisation, pave the way

for it) Liberal abstention secured its passage. The task of explaining why suddenly the party had remembered the Naval Conference was characteristically left to Sir Herbert Samuel. But the result is far more important than any explanation; and the result is likely to be a continuing factor. The Liberals are now committed to the view that it is a good thing for the country that it should be protected from Tory government for a reasonable space of time; and various devices (among which it would be foolish to leave out the attractive personality of Miss Megan Lloyd George) are going to serve to gild the pill of practical co-operation—a very hard pill to swallow, even in a provisional form, for many members of the Labour Party, who have not forgotten, and are never likely to forget, a feeling about the 'Welsh wizard' which it would be flattery to call distrust. Other aspects of this realignment left, for the moment, out of account, one is patent—the Liberals are not going to assist in pushing the Government out. On the contrary, they are to maintain it in being until the Ullswater Committee reports, or the House of Lords pile up too long an account against themselves and quietly dig their own graves in the meantime.

The Oppositions do not want any election. Does the Government? Obviously not, and that for two reasons. One is that the difficulty of the task, although aggravated by the onset of a world-wide trade slump, was plain, in its main outline, when it was taken on. Then, as now, it was obvious to Mr. MacDonald and his colleagues that the problem of coping with the dread inheritance of disorder, foreign and domestic, which they had to shoulder was going to be aggravated by the fact that their programme at the late election had been explicitly a majority programme.

> We shall not deceive the people by saying that the task is easy, or that it can be accomplished in a day or a year. But the Labour Party does pledge itself to undertake this great work with energy and enthusiasm, and it confidently believes that, *if it has a majority, in the full lifetime of a parliament*, a great advance in industrial prosperity, in social well-being, and in a more just distribution of the fruits of labour, can be made.

They were given very early warning that none of the limiting conditions of practical action were to be remembered by a section of their own followers; but it may be assumed that this was a factor which they had in mind at the start, and that they faced it with knowledge of the further fact that this section, though vociferous, was, and was likely to remain, small. The second reason is closely connected with the first. The Government is working, not haphazard, but on a programme which cannot be accomplished 'in a day or a year.' Certain foundations

have to be laid before building can begin, and before they can be laid the site has to be cleared of a very large accumulation of rubbish. Large part of Mr. Snowden's Budget represents the work of the honest steward who succeeds the dishonest one; large part of the work of Mr MacDonald, of Mr. Snowden, and of Mr. Henderson in the international field goes to the re-establishment of our moral prestige, shattered and dissipated by their predecessors

This brings us to what is, after all, the most important factor, the opinion of the country. Does the country want an election? No. It very emphatically does not. More than that, it desires the present Government to go on with the work it has begun. The verdict delivered by the electorate against the Tory *régime* of 1924–9 was of striking definiteness; nothing has occurred to change it. Nobody wants the Conservatives back in power. Unemployment is no argument for them. Tory administration and legislation worsened the conditions of the unemployed; all they did for unemployment was to attempt to talk it away. On the other hand, the new Unemployment Act has met a very real and widespread grievance in the operation of the old fourth statutory condition; the extension under it of the transitional provisions, coupled with the abolition of the old 'genuinely seeking work' clause, means that the genuinely unemployed man or woman is now reasonably secure of getting benefit. To that extent it does meet the claim for maintenance for the unemployed. On the other hand, the courage and the honesty with which Miss Bondfield and Mr. Thomas frankly face the facts and say, 'Yes, unemployment is very bad; to effect any improvement is going to take a long, slow pull,' are far more in harmony with the British character than their predecessors' insincere promises of 'improving trade.' In general, too, the country has a longer memory than Westminster 'Safety first' and 'A million of your fellow-countrymen are starving' are mouldering away from the hoardings, but their meaning remains. The electorate is no longer governed by a mechanical ebb and flow; the old 'swing of the pendulum' hardly applies to universal suffrage conditions. The rise of the Labour Party registers a far larger, deeper, and more lasting movement of thought and feeling than the spokesmen of the older parties seem prepared to recognise—a far more far-reaching correspondence with the grain of things and the major tendencies of twentieth-century development.

II

This brings me back to my initial point. If political interest to-day is keen, alert and general, the reason lies, not in the uncertainty of the tenure of the Government, but in its nature—in

what it has done and is doing, and above all in what it stands for. Interest is strengthened rather than attenuated by the general recognition of the fact that the Government is here, not on temporary sufferance, but for a legislative period of scope sufficiently ample to allow it to work out its programme. Take the Budget introduced on April 14. It is eminently *not* an election Budget. There is not a window-dressing item in it. The faithful steward faces the bills that have been left him by his predecessor and the actual position of the country for whose finances he is responsible, and with singular courage and candour presents a series of proposals whose main results cannot be garnered in the current financial year. Debts have to be paid ; and the charge is boldly imposed on and collected from those who can best afford to pay it, measures being taken to secure that they do, in fact, meet it. Mr. Churchill's 1925 gifts to the rich are recalled ; the shift to the broader back is open and frank, and the intention to build on the solid foundation thus laid not less obvious. Above all, the Budget is perfectly clear on the great issue between the parties—the issue of the social services. The use of the instrument of taxation to ameliorate the lot of the majority is the governing motive. The Budget lays no taxation on the poorer classes ; it makes full provision for the maintenance and extension of the social services. It is not spectacular ; it is only original in its honesty. The big things that Mr. Snowden wants to do must wait until, debts paid, the work of his colleagues in the international field put at his disposal for constructive work the fruits of large-scale economies in expenditure on armaments. He had to regret that more had not already been done in that way ; but much more will be done before the Government goes out. Already the Three-Power Pact between ourselves, the United States, and Japan opens out wide prospects of reduction—60,000,000*l*. to 70,000,000*l*. in the next ten years.

Such reduction in building programmes, however, is a secondary aspect of the great work of the Naval Conference. The Three-Power Pact, taken in conjunction with the continuation—in an atmosphere of notable goodwill—of Mediterranean possibilities. It is the biggest stroke for world peace accomplished since the London Treaty. Now, and only now, it is possible to face the very serious dangers that the abortive Geneva Naval Conference of 1927 left behind, and to admit that misunderstanding and ill-will between the English-speaking peoples on either side of the Atlantic were there and were growing, fed from a hundred sources, until with real vision and courage Mr. MacDonald took up, as his very first task as Prime Minister, the removal of this mischief and the establishment of relations between ourselves and America on a firm basis of frankness and friendship. His

visit to the United States made the Naval Conference and made it successful. Its success does not end with th Power Pact which pacifies the Atlantic and the Pa consists rather in the fact that the method of internation ment has stood a new strain and emerged triumphant. A France and Italy, with pressing and special problems of th are not signatories to the full instrument, agreement l reached on many points, discussions between ourselves a are to go on, and Mr. MacDonald, to whose patience and so much of that result is due, will continue in charge of t

In this success there is nothing accidental. Peac major plank in the Labour Party's electoral programme belief in international co-operation as the instrument of fundamental. Its whole-hearted support of the Le Nations made the 1929 Assembly a turning-point in the of the League itself. The Labour delegation brought to a spirit wholly different from that voiced by Great Britai preceding four years ; and it was well that it did so, for the itself. Bringing with it proofs of tangible achieveme declaration as to the ratification of the Washington Con the agreement for Rhineland evacuation, and the Hagu ments—it proceeded at once to give a lead of incon importance in the signature of the optional clause, the of the efforts to effective international economic co-o known as the tariff holiday proposal, the proposal for the of the Covenant to bring it into line with the Kellogg P the new impetus given in connexion with control over th facture of opium. At home this sincerely pacific polic prompt expression in the renewal of diplomatic relatio Russia, the appointment of an ambassador to Moscow, extension of the machinery of export credits to Russian on the one hand, and, on the other, in the recall of Lor and the drafting of a treaty with Egypt. Frankness an will, these, again, are the keys to the new policy in policy initiated by a renewal of the declaration that D status for India is the goal of British policy. What h done, and what remains to do, in this great sphere o policy constitute for thousands of thoughtful minds a s reason for desiring the continuance of the Government.

III

Very early on, one of those domestic critics, in wh Labour Party has, by virtue of its very outlook, alwa exceptionally rich, compared the Government to a footb which wins all its matches away but loses them at ho there any truth in this view? Not enough, certainly,

victory to either of the politically opposing teams. For such colour as it has the fall in the world trade barometer—the state of world industrial weather—is responsible; and the weather is not likely to change in the near future. For unemployment is, of course, not a thing by itself, but the general statement of a set of conditions, world-wide in their operation, which affect every industrial country, and only affect ours most because least has here been done to reorganise in the light of the so-called new Industrial Revolution—a revolution which has increased the power of production out of all relation to that of consumption, and emphatically calls for a revision of our whole economic apparatus.

The wasted years since the war cannot be overtaken in months: the task is an enormous one; depression makes it infinitely difficult. At the same time, that very depression does, to some extent, create a psychological atmosphere in which new courses may be regarded with less than the old hostility, the old being so patently impotent to save. Doubts are certainly felt by many of the Government's most thoughtful supporters as to whether sufficient courage and imagination are being brought to this part of its task. True, few of these critics are prepared to say, concretely, what should be done; but they certainly do feel that a bold and energetic drive towards reconstruction, on unconventional lines, is needed and could not be opposed. While welcoming the appointment of the Economic Advisory Council, they fear that it is hardly manned or planned in such a way as to assist this; while giving full recognition to the tremendously hard work and high courage which Mr. Thomas is bringing to his grim job, they feel him mentally overwhelmed by it. He, of course, is resolutely and steadily carrying out plans common to Labour and Liberals in their main outlines, as any merely remedial plans must be. Liberals on this are conveniently apt to forget that their more ambitious claims hinged on a vast loan policy which is clearly inapplicable in the actual monetary condition precipitated by the Hatry and Wall Street crashes. Serious obstacles are put by our preposterous Private Bill system in the way of any rapid action by local authorities, many of whom are involved in real difficulties by the Derating Act—they simply have not got and cannot raise the cash. On the other hand, the Government has shot right ahead of anything the Liberals proposed in its provision, through the 1929 Act, of maintenance for large numbers of the unemployed—80,000 at least. It is thanks to the operation of this Act, indeed, that an unparalleled onset of industrial depression is being supported without the gravest forms of human deterioration and consequent lasting economic loss. To maintain and as far as possible raise the

general standard of life is the primary object of Government policy. Rightly, the earliest action of the Minister of Labour was to declare the intention to ratify the Washington Convention; and the legislative measure implementing that pledge has been introduced. Side by side with this the extension and consolidation of the social services is being pursued.

Here, of course, education comes first. Since in England any educational proposals raise the old religious controversies, the President of the Board will not introduce the second reading of the Bill raising the school-leaving age to fifteen until some workable new agreement has been reached as to the terms on which the reorganisation consequent on this and the operation of the Hadow Report can actually be carried through. But the date of the coming into force of the new leaving age stands at April 1, 1931; and the Bill embodying it will also carry maintenance grants to the children whose parents need them. It is worth noting that, when this provision is taken in conjunction with the increased grants to dependants under the Unemployment Insurance Act, and the rebates of rent under the new Housing Act for children, that something like an organised system of children's allowances is being embodied in our social legislation. While the Widows' Pensions Act has already brought as many widows into pension as did the original Act, and will bring twice as many in before the end of the year, the new Housing Act—a bold and original measure—cuts at the real root of the slums by relating grants to rehousing, and, taken in conjunction with the extension of the Rent Restriction Act and the arrest in the Conservative Government's reductions in the housing subsidy, open the door to a solution of the working-class housing problem, and so attacks the biggest factor in the health and strength of the rising generation. 'Public health is purchasable,' said Sir George Newman. Through legislation and administration the Government is aiming at achieving it. It is attacking mental disease as well as physical: the keynote of the Mental Treatment Bill is its provision for voluntary treatment and resolute refusal to accept the 'stigma' so long attached to mental disease.

The other main line of attack is that which aims at securing public control of the foundation resources and services, on which future economic development hinges. This is the key to the preliminary reorganisation of the mining industry through the Coal Mines Bill. A measure based on an agreement between owners and miners (and, as such, the alternative to a lock-out), the Mines Bill, in addition to its reorganisation clauses proper, which carry a very large measure of public supervision, takes an immediate half-hour off miners' hours and assures the regulation of their wages on a national basis. Similarly, the Road Traffic Bill, while

securing a very necessary co-ordination and control over a 'key' service, also lays down certain minimum conditions of employment so far as road transport is concerned. Again, the decision of the Postmaster-General will give us a nationalised system of wireless telephony—and a very efficient system, too. With these measures goes the Scottish Land Drainage Bill—a Bill with genuine social vision behind it and more far-reaching effects than are generally realised; and the additional 3,500,000*l.* granted for afforestation.

IV

One reason why Labour gained ground at the last and at every previous election, and will gain still more when the next comes, is that the electors fully realise that it is the one party in the State whose policy is not merely an assembly of vote-catching expedients, but the expression of a plan, and a plan related to a certain vision of social organisation—a plan, too, that is in harmony both with new social forces and with the keener and clearer claims of the social conscience.

For some years now certain newspapers have made a practice of describing the Labour Party and its candidates as Socialist—apparently with the idea that they are thereby revealing to the innocent electorate something in the nature of a hideous secret. They could make no greater mistake. Socialism, as a bogey, is thoroughly out of date. Out of date largely for the reason that the Labour Party, far from making any secret of its Socialism, constantly stresses it, and with reason and intention. The history of the party has been shaped by the progressive acceptance of this philosophy: Socialism is no excrescence on the thinking of Labour; it is its vital principle. If Labour came into politics as an organisation of workers in trade unions, that organisation itself did not become a political force until it was first allied to and then fused with the definitely Socialist societies—the Fabians, the Independent Labour Party, and the Social Democratic Federation. Moreover, each crucial stage in the subsequent swift advance of the party—astoundingly swift when it is recalled that, as a party, it was only born at the entry into the twentieth century—registers the endorsement of explicitly Socialist principles. Thus the *New Social Order*, accepted by the Party Conference in 1918, contains a broad statement of Socialist policy, as well as the declaration that membership is open to workers by 'hand and brain'—a declaration carried into practical effect by the establishment of individual membership sections and the consequent increase in the non-trade union participation in control. In 1925, at the Liverpool Conference, a further stage was marked by the declaration that 'only upon avowedly Socialist

principles' can the claim of the workers to decent standards of life, etc., be met. In 1929 the Birmingham Conference laid down a programme of action—*Labour and the Nation*—which is inspired by Socialist ideology from end to end. Definitely and expressly the Labour Party works towards the organisation of a system of society that shall fully express the organic nature of the community and establish it in appropriate social and political and economic institutions. Alone among political parties it faces the new facts of the contemporary world and the new feelings. For parallel to the break-up of the old capitalist framework in the economic sphere is the process going on within the inner life of the citizen, who can no longer find adequate sanctions in the old commands and prohibitions of moral individualism, but reaches out to a new social conception of ethics.

It is these two strains, both critical of the old, but both likewise critical in the light of a developing vision of something different, that have shaped and formed the mentality of the Labour Party. Although, now as in the past, the vast majority of its members belong to the working class, it has never been recruited exclusively from what one might call the victims of the existing social order. Any party so narrowly composed would share the weakness that attaches to the groups that defend it because it suits them. On the contrary, from the start, as to-day, it included men and women who, relatively fortunate themselves in education and inheritance, were unable tranquilly to accept a fortune purchased at so great and so unnecessary a price as the sacrifice of great masses of their fellow-beings—unable, too, to blind themselves to hard facts by any comfortable assumption of a neat coincidence of economic competence and moral worth; men and women who felt, like Dostoevsky's hero, that they must 'return the ticket' if they had to believe that there is, in fact, not enough good sense or good feeling to go round, but that all the available supply of those attributes is concentrated within a narrowly limited social group, whose geography can be pretty accurately defined in advance. On the contrary, they feel that society, as at present constituted, involves a huge element of quite unnecessary waste, and that the waste of human capacity involved in the harsh tyranny of unequal circumstance is the heaviest item on the wrong side of that account. Seeing, as Mr. MacDonald put it nearly twenty years ago, that democracy is not merely a form of government, but a kind of government, they also saw that it can never achieve reality while its fundamental propositions are negatived by the actual economic organisation.

Psychologically, Socialism posits a certain ultimate optimism. In place of the static 'human nature being what it is,' it accepts J. S. Mill's hypothesis that 'mankind can continue to improve.'

And, stumblings and backward fallings like the war notwithstanding, can the fact of improvement be denied? Is not the very keenness of our awareness of social evils such as our grandfathers barely perceived a vital sign that it does? We *mind* countless cruelties and injustices which they either did not see or took for granted. On a hundred points what was once the derided cry of the fanatic is now matter of common acceptance—the treatment of children and the old, the condition of prisons and asylums, the whole apparatus of public provision for sanitation and health, and the vast structure of the social services generally, all are indications of an increasing social sense. This is the implicit principle in our progress: it is the principle Labour tries to make explicit; it is the principle by which the whole general policy of the Government, both in the domestic and in the international field, is directed. No swerving from the idea of co-operation, whether in the sphere of political or economic relations—a full, loyal and consistent support of the League, in the light of its fundamental ideal of equality between nations, the substitution of law for force in their mutual approach, and, in the settlement of any disputes, the frank abandonment of the notion that we are to be our own judges. At home honesty in finance, policy directed to raising the standard of life and securing communal control over vital services, together with a steady humanising of administration and incorporation in legal codes of the more progressive standards of social morality—for instance, the abolition of the death penalty in the Army, the grant of holidays to Government workers, the removal of the Civil Service ban on conscientious objectors, etc.: the guiding thread running through the whole idea being that of a transformation of society by the consent and with the co-operation of its citizens.

But there is another line of criticism which accuses the Government, not of being Socialist, but of not being Socialist enough. In a sense, of course, such criticism is bound to be right. No man or body of men succeed in living up to their principles as fully as they or their friends would wish. In addition to the weaknesses of human nature and of the human intelligence, which is terribly apt everywhere not to see the wood for the trees, the actual actions of real life have to be performed within circumstances and conditions which are by no means of our choosing and limit us in manifold ways. I think the Government has done and is doing well; but I am not such a pessimist as to believe it could not possibly do better, nor, I fancy, is any member of it. But it seems to me the right kind of Government and to be acting in the right kind of way, and I think that the country agrees.

There are critics on the hearth who eminently do not agree. They are sure that they could do a vast deal better. Their

reprimands, acid and constant ever since July 1929, are no least mitigated by any reminders that a limit is set to a m Government. They want not only more, but a different action ; above all, they want a different tone of voice. *I* though not very numerously represented inside the H Commons—and stronger there than anywhere else, as c of party leadership has been ever since 1923—they are o by the view that a *Government*, or even a party, must ac national interest ; they assert—in contradistinction t Hardie, for example—that Labour stands and falls b consciousness, and have little sympathy with the view tl method of Socialism must be through co-operation, and th gradual and by consent. The issues on which this grou separated themselves from the majority of the party ha been specifically Socialist : there is no Socialist issue in for instance, in the question whether, in view of other fi claims, the benefit rate to the unemployed can be al certain figure ; but in each case its members have assert they alone are the repositories of genuinely Socialist a Although the opportunities provided under the thor democratic constitution of the party have always left the small minority, they have claimed the right to oppose th body of their fellows. My criticism of them is that they a Socialists. The obligation of corporate loyalty is not vol on Socialists ; it is compulsory. The individual position is more amusing, and more picturesque, but it is reactiona out of date. Artificial simplifications of actual circum are a luxury the Socialist cannot afford ; he, of all men, has face not some but all of the facts.

By the great majority both of the members in the Hou the rank and file supporters of the party outside this is faithfully done. They see, also, that it is being done Government. Criticism there is : a party that sets out to a better world has an ampler share of that than any static but it is in the main criticism that proceeds from a recog not of difficulties only, but of achievement. This double r tion is not confined to the party or to the House of Comm is general throughout the nation. There is a wide conse silent opinion that the Government should ' strive on to fin work we are in.' Since to-day the political outlook a industrial are one and the same, and both are thick with ' with high hope for the future, no prediction with regard ventured.' At the same time, it is a duty to note not o presence of those clouds, but the fact that a sky darker in respects than this country has known since the war is shot hope that is more authentic, more realistic, and more int

than has crossed it during the intervening years of illusion. If a rational optimism based on a firm resolve is gradually taking the place of a blind and self-defeating trust that chance will somehow pull us through, that is a result due to the work of the Government and the vision behind that work.

MARY AGNES HAMILTON.

PREFERENCE AND THE REFERENDUM

The difficulty which has hitherto confronted Tariff Reformers ha been that they have had to face all the prejudices and objections whic surround the imposition of food duties without being able to announce i clear and definite terms the advantages which would be secured in retur for them. We have been obliged to argue upon a hypothesis, the proo of which could only be offered after acceptance of the taxes. The pric to be paid was certain—the advantages were open to dispute. On th one side certainty; on the other uncertainty. The handicap was severe From this dilemma we were rescued by the Referendum jointly propose by Mr. Baldwin and Lord Beaverbrook.—Sir Austen Chamberlain, in letter to *The Times*, March 13, 1930.

Let us go to the root of the matter. How did this dilemm arise? And can we really be rescued from it by the Referendum Old people seem to have forgotten most of what happened befor the war; and the young generation, it is said, do not want t learn. Few seem to know what Chamberlain's famous proposa actually was, or that the Referendum has played its part befor in the history of Preference. So we see the new crusade plunging into old pitfalls.

Nothing might ever have been heard of a tariff Referendum either in 1910 or 1930, but for a vital mistake made by Josep Chamberlain in 1903 and repeated by Lord Beaverbrook la year in formulating their respective schemes of Preference. Fror this mistake, as we shall see, the dilemma arises; and from th dilemma the strange Referendum. The mistake has consisted i proposing that the food duties should apply to foreign import only, entirely exempting imports from the Empire; instead o applying to imports from *all* sources, with Preference, but no exemption, to the Empire portion. The curious thing is tha Lord Beaverbrook was blissfully unconscious of repeating eithe Chamberlain or a blunder. In his original pamphlet on Empir Free Trade (and on many occasions since) he has declared tha his proposal is something 'entirely new in the history of Britis politics'; going on to explain that in regard to free entry Empire food it differs from Chamberlain's, who 'asked that tax should be put on *all* imported food.' This is quite wrong Chamberlain proposed, just as clearly as Lord Beaverbrook, tha

the food duties should be on foreign imports only, leaving Empire produce absolutely free—as may be verified by anyone who cares to look up his great speech at Glasgow (October 6, 1903) starting his campaign.

Now let us see how Chamberlain's movement was affected by this proposal to limit the food duties to foreign imports only. The almost uncanny parallelism of Lord Beaverbrook's recent experience can hardly fail to strike the reader who has followed the fortunes of the crusade in the *Daily Express* and its critics. The limitation has the awkward effect of putting the policy of Preference on quite a different footing in this country from that which it has always held in the Dominions. It implies that these food duties are not needed for any domestic purpose—*i.e.*, for obtaining revenue or protecting our own agriculture—but solely for creating Preference for the Empire. It suggests a project of sentiment rather than business; and this notion is further encouraged if the protagonists lay any stress upon the political importance of their economic proposal, as a means of drawing, or holding, the Empire together. Chamberlain frankly avowed that such was, in fact, his main object, making Protection quite secondary to begin with. In 1903 the Liberals, who had been long out of office and badly wanted a new cry, did not wait twenty-four hours to invent the 'little loaf,' stigmatising the scheme as a quite unnecessary 'sacrifice' for the Empire. At best, jeered Campbell-Bannerman, it was a plan of 'sordid bonds,' insulting the Colonies with a bribe to stay loyal.

The Dominions themselves have never appeared, nor pretended, to found their fiscal policies on the interests of the Empire. They were able, when the new spirit arose in the nineties, to give us Preference without putting on any duties not otherwise needed.[1] Having comprehensive tariffs already, they had only to convert these into two-deckers, technically known as the General Tariff and the Preferential Tariff, in order to favour the Empire without any detriment to their domestic purposes. If the primary object of a particular duty was protection, the lower scale could be kept high enough: if revenue, the yield could be maintained by exacting a little more from foreign imports and a little less from British. No domestic interest could be seriously affected by the existence of two scales of import duty instead of one. So the policy and practice of Preference could be, and has been, accepted by all parties in the Dominions without much fuss. Originally adopted by Canada

[1] There have, of course, been modern instances of such duties in inter-Dominion trade agreements, but only for the purpose of rounding them off, not the essential nucleus. Australia has lately put on certain duties for our express benefit, against foreign imports only.

and copied by the other Dominions as a gesture of economic co-operation within the Empire, it has been sustained overseas to this day by the hope that ultimately Britain would so modify her own tariff system as not only to reciprocate these favours, but create the opportunity for extending the policy by mutual concessions. But while the Dominions still wait for this consummation, they continue to draw a substantial revenue from their existing duties on British as well as foreign imports. In any approach to Empire Free Trade their 'sacrifice' would be to forego convenient revenue by taking duties off; whereas in Britain the 'sacrifice' has always been conceived as the putting certain duties on, in spite of the revenue to be obtained thereby.

Have these opposite notions of 'sacrifice' any basis of economic validity? Or is it only a difference of political mentality, in Britain a perverse accident of our party system? In any case, there is no doubt as to the fact of the very different political position which always arises here, when we are asked to put on duties solely for the purpose of Preference. At once the question occurs, is it worth while? What will the Dominions give us in return? The fallacious dogma of Victorian economists, that the effect of an import duty is invariably to raise the price by at least the amount of the duty, was ingrained in this country when Chamberlain set forth. He himself disputed the dogma. Yet he allowed for it by proposing to offset the new 'burden' by reducing some existing food taxes of which the incidence was more certain, calculating that on the balance the working-class budget would actually gain. But it was all in vain. 'Your food will cost you more'; and what are you going to get for the 'sacrifice'? It was true then, and is now, that this country cannot give any substantial preference to the Dominions without imposing duties on dairy produce, meat and corn, in that order of importance; though formerly corn was supposed to come first. Mr. Chamberlain, said the tiresome Liberals, had talked vaguely about a 'Colonial offer.' Let him produce it in black and white showing exactly what they would give us; then we could at least weigh the sacrifice. What, he could not produce it! When would he ever produce it? Down with the palpable fraud!

Such was the dilemma, and the Tariff Reformers were acutely conscious of it, then as now. If only they could meet the Liberal taunt by triumphantly producing the Colonial offer! And why not? Their prophet had not spoken at random. He did have a certain offer. It was at the Colonial Conference in 1902, when the Canadian Ministers had been most anxious to negotiate, by offering further preference, for the exemption of Empire wheat from the shilling-a-quarter 'registration duty' which had recently been imposed for revenue purposes on the

importation from all countries. But his colleagues had become alarmed for Free Trade, and the duty was hastily repealed altogether. That was a great blunder; but, anyway, it showed that offers were to be had.

Accordingly in 1905 Mr. Hewins was sent privately to Canada on a mission to obtain a definite scheme which Chamberlain might publish.[2] The idea was that the Dominion might promulgate an 'optional tariff,' going further in the direction of Empire Free Trade than its existing preferential tariff. This new tariff was to be optional for Britain to take advantage of by putting on certain duties, which should also be agreed in advance in order to favour Empire produce. This was the prototype of the latest policy of the Conservative Party—which is, according to Mr. Churchill's statement,[3] that they should negotiate 'a draft treaty with the rest of the Empire' before asking the people to sanction any food duties.

Mr. Hewins was cordially received at Ottawa, where the Government was already engaged upon a thorough revision of the Canadian tariff, including a scheme of 'intermediate' rates for negotiation with foreign countries—a feature which implied whittling down the British preferences. He was allowed, indeed encouraged, to go into the whole subject exhaustively with the Ministers and officials. One of the questions examined in this friendly spirit was that of scheduling certain kinds of manufacture to be placed on the Canadian free list if imported from Britain, on the ground that they could not be economically produced in Canada. This was the origin of another Liberal jeer, about the 'forbidden industries,' which, it was wrongly assumed, the Canadian Government would refuse to look at. It may be noted as the forerunner of that later conception of Empire rationalisation which has appealed to Lord Melchett's business instinct and, prematurely, to Mr. Baldwin's political necessity.[4]

Alas! in the end Mr. Hewins had to return empty-handed. As he duly reported to his chief, the Canadian Ministers were manifestly eager to negotiate reciprocal preference in the direction of Empire Free Trade, but felt that they had already made their own 'offer' at the Colonial Conference by displaying this spirit in public and private, and that the next move lay with Britain, who must invest herself with the means of reciprocity. After this initial failure the possibility of getting a precise Colonial offer, in advance of a tariff election here, was constantly discussed as politicians and journalists passed to and fro between London and Ottawa, Melbourne, Wellington, and Capetown.

[2] *Cf. The Apologia of an Imperialist*, by W. A. S. Hewins, vol. I, ch. v.
[3] *The Times*, March 7, 1930.
[4] Speech at the Coliseum, February 5, 1930.

But the result was always the same—nothing doing. Generally speaking, Dominion Ministers took the line that Britain's tariff was Britain's business, not theirs. If the Dominions were consulted as to Britain's tariff, she might claim to be consulted about theirs, which would never do: autonomy might be imperilled. Nor did they relish the idea of a British election in which the invidious issue, as put by the cleverest demagogues, would be whether food taxes should be imposed on 'starving millions' at home for the benefit of prosperous Colonies which had refused to pay towards the Navy. Again, the prolonged uncertainty as to whether the published trade agreement was going to become operative or not would be as awkward for business overseas as in Britain. But this was not all. Supposing Sir Wilfrid Laurier, for example, fell in with the scheme and offered to knock 50 per cent. off the Canadian preferential rates in return for a prospective duty in Britain on foreign wheat. At once the Canadian Manufacturers Association would be up in arms. It might well mean the fight of his life. He would not shirk that, being a proud disciple of Bright and Gladstone, willing to take the biggest risk for unrestricted reciprocity and a wider protected market (as he afterwards did, in 1911, for reciprocity with the United States). But what if the *British electors turned down his offer? He would then have* risked everything for nothing at all. It was not good enough politics—*heads they win, tails I lose.* Emphatically *No!* He would be ready to bargain at any time, as he was in 1902, with any British Government which was in a position like his own, which would enable it, by virtue of existing duties or a present majority in the House of Commons, to deliver the stipulated goods. By all means, 'concession for concession.' But he would never consent to treat with anybody for merely hypothetical concessions, contingent on the result of a British election on food taxes. In fact, the Dominion attitude was hardening as Dominion industries grew. Ottawa would never again be so favourably inclined as in 1905.

Nevertheless, the Unionist leaders, afraid either to endorse or reject the Chamberlain policy, which had divided the party, clung desperately to the hope of getting some kind of 'Colonial offer' which they might put before the country at an election. They were greatly worried, as the Tariff Reformers, with their stimulating ideal, became more and more aggressive. Drastic change, into which the aspect of these trivial food duties was already magnified by nervous minds, was not the party's tradition. Their Imperial mentality was also a handicap. Instinctively Conservatives still thought of the Empire as consisting of the benevolent old mother and her dutiful children, who had

behaved so splendidly in the late war (in South Africa) and deserved any boon she could afford to give. Surely it was a case, they felt, for family council, to find out 'whether our Colonies really wanted us to tax food.' So, despite the puzzling lack of responsible support from the Dominions for any such plan, they leaned to the idea of having a special Imperial Conference, to devise some scheme of reciprocal Preference which could then be submitted to the electorate.

All this time a keen struggle was going on within the Unionist Party for beneficial possession of its leader, Arthur James Balfour. Publicly the 'whole-hog' Tariff Reformers, representing the youth and enthusiasm of the party, were making all the noise. But behind the scenes the Conservative 'free fooders,' mostly men of wealth and influence, were pulling very much more than their weight in electoral numbers. Between these two sections Balfour, controlling his undoubted bias towards Chamberlain's proposal, was adroitly walking the tight-rope. In 1910 he was seen inclining dangerously to the 'full policy' of Tariff Reform. During the second election campaign of that year he made a speech (Nottingham, November 19) in which he really seemed to take the food duties for granted, thereby greatly alarming the 'free-food' group. But the main issue in that election was the House of Lords, in which connexion the Unionists were advocating the use of the Referendum. The Liberal leader, then Mr. Asquith, made a party hit by challenging Balfour to agree to a Referendum on Tariff Reform, little thinking that the gage might be taken up. This gave Balfour a chance to kill—with sufficient luck—no less then three birds with one stone. By dramatically agreeing to a Referendum on Tariff Reform he might (1) make the Liberal leader look foolish; (2) placate his own free fooders and preserve party unity; (3) perhaps finally settle this really important but very troublesome question by that kind of procedure which, even if the Colonies did not like it, had always seemed so reasonable to many of his most valued friends —and probably to many Liberals too, had they dared to own it. Accordingly a great meeting was organised to fill the Albert Hall on November 29, only a few days before the polling (which used to take weeks) would begin, and to greet the 'master-stroke' with spontaneous ecstasy. It was, indeed, beautifully done. When the momentous announcement emerged from the leader's lips, all (except one) seemed to follow the bell-wethers, standing up and shouting, with waving of handkerchiefs, 'This wins the election!'

It did not win the election, the Unionists being defeated again. The tariff Referendum utterly failed to catch on. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer

in the last Unionist Government, was never consulted beforehand, having been away in the north when the fateful decision was taken. But he loyally accepted it 'for this election,' while frankly confessing that he did not like it at all, especially from a financial standpoint.[5] He emphasised the long period of uncertainty, dislocating trade, which any such procedure must involve, and also the dangers of a precedent which might be used by less scrupulous politicians for bribing the many at the expense of the few. The Liberals were quick to discover, besides, more fundamental objections. If they could not approve a Referendum on the Constitution itself, still less would they have it for an annual routine matter, like the Budget. The proposal cut at the root of the British system of parliamentary government, which did not admit such shifting of responsibility from Ministers to the electorate. Ministers should govern or go. And in truth it was always absurd to represent these trumpery duties—the common pieces which in other countries a Finance Minister may manipulate at will—as equivalent to a grave constitutional change.

Again, what exactly was (or is) proposed to be put on the Referendum paper for the electors to answer with Yes or No? In 1910 Balfour's original proposal was to refer the 'principle.' But Mr. Austen Chamberlain insisted that for practical reasons it would have to be the actual Budget of the year. To-day he seems to think it might be something else, but has not explained what[6] Mr. Churchill, who this time is the party's ex-Chancellor, has postulated a 'draft treaty with the rest of the Empire.' Mr. Amery, in his article last month, is very guarded. He has to envisage 'some general inter-Imperial agreement sufficiently important to be the subject-matter of a Referendum'; but asks whether, supposing only smaller, bilateral agreements can be arrived at, these should be submitted to successive referenda. Since then Mr. Baldwin, in his address to the Primrose League on April 4, has gone back to Balfour's original proposal, to refer the 'principle.' But not for long. Three days later, at Manchester, he said it would be 'the details.' Two things are clear. First, the authors of this proposal in 1930 have no more thought it out than had their predecessors in 1910, and are equally at sixes and sevens. Secondly, it does not become any easier in the transition from the 'principle' to the 'draft treaty' or 'details,' to judge which is required by the cheerful pledge that the country shall 'see exactly' what the proposed bargain is. Apart from any budgetary difficulties, if it was found impossible to get any conditional bargain with the most willing of the Dominions in 1905, when their manufacturing interests were still politically

[5] *E.g.*, in his speech at Buxton, December 14, 1910.
[6] *The Times*, March 13, 1930.

ak, can it be easy to get a conditional bargain with any of m—let alone the whole—to-day, when those interests are werful ?

In any case, this proposal is a manifest subterfuge. To pre-nd that there is doubt as to whether food taxes are necessary Preference, and to claim that a candidate who proposes to plore this matter before committing himself in favour should held innocent of the great offence, is asking a little too much. suggest, again, that approval by Referendum would so nction' the taxes that no succeeding Government would nture to disturb them is equally unconvincing, until there is an t of Parliament to ordain this novel sanctity. The real arantee of stability is inherent in the proposal, which is modern, arrange Preference by a definite treaty or treaties with the minions, which should run for a term of years and then be sub-t to notice. In truth the tariff Referendum has never been any-ng more respectable than the dodge of a hard-pressed politician avert a party rupture. In 1910 it was designed to placate the e fooders without betraying the food taxers. In 1930 it is y the other way about, to get round the pledge of 'no food es at the next election.'

Psychologically (which counts so much, as Mr. Baldwin has d) it was always an obvious confession of weakness, dishearten- to Tariff Reformers and putting the food tax bogey on a new d higher pedestal as an object of popular superstition and party ror. This abject homage of their avowed leaders to a bogey ich could be riddled by reason and ridicule has always been re damaging to Tariff Reform candidates than all the eloquence open opponents. Put to the test in 1910–11 the Referendum s of no electioneering value. It saved no Unionist candidate m being dubbed a food taxer. Those who readily admitted charge and nevertheless won (as many did) could feel that y had already got the mandate to go straight ahead without y second appeal by Referendum or otherwise. Those who pro-ted that food taxes were not at issue, and were generally eated, could only wail that the naughty other side would not y the game. So it came about that only a few weeks after the in the Albert Hall successful and defeated candidates were at in vowing they would never touch the 'beastly Referendum' ain.

The fiasco of 1910–11 was a severe blow to Balfour's leader-p, the Tariff Reformers feeling that they had been let down. other ways the tide was setting against them. Trade was good, ying the theory that foreign competition was becoming a nger. The free fooders could now plead that the party ought drop the disruptive food taxes, at least, and concentrate on

resistance to the Parliament Bill or, later, the Home Rule Bill. Tired out with all this friction, Balfour presently resigned his thankless post. Who should succeed him? In their own minds the Tariff Reformers (and also Balfour himself) had already nominated Austen Chamberlain, trusting him never to compromise his father's policy. The free fooders wanted Walte Long. Thereupon the honest brokers stepped in; the two rivals gracefully stepped down, and Bonar Law blushingly stepped u between them. Tariff Reformers knew him for a lucid exponen of their doctrine, who was fortified with Canadian birth and business experience. Free fooders knew him for a man wit more conscience than conceit, who could probably be worked i taken in the right way. So both were fairly happy.

Torn between the interests of the permanent party and th transient cause, which some deemed vital to it and others not the new leader could only temporise. But the Tariff Reformers were impatient for a vigorous lead and a straightforward policy They professed exultingly to have got both from the speeches made by the party leaders at the annual Conference on November 14, 1912. As stated by Lord Lansdowne and endorsed by Bonar Law, the party now (*a*) resumed a free hand to put on import duties, in order to get revenue for meeting the huge new obligations which the Liberal Government was piling up; (*b*) also a free hand to negotiate with the Dominions; but (*c*) the amoun of the proposed new duties would be precisely stated in advance (*d*) would not be exceeded without further authority from the people; and (*e*) would be applied wholly to the relief of existing burdens. Was the party at last committed to the food duties? The Tariff Reformers said Yes, but the free fooders said No. Presently Mr. Austen Chamberlain went so far as to define the duties which the party would claim liberty to impose These were—(1) an average of 10 per cent. on manufactures (2) 2*s*. a quarter on foreign wheat, other wheat being free; (3) no exceeding 5 per cent. on other produce (but raw materials to be free), with such abatements or exemptions in favour of Colonia supplies as the course of negotiations might suggest.[7]

This was too much for the free fooders; and once more the others had been shouting too soon. The hour of the great betray was at hand, when four days later Bonar Law explained:

> If our countrymen entrust us with power, we do not intend to impose food duties. What we intend to do is to call a Conference of the Colonies to consider the whole question of preferential trade, and the question whether or not food duties will be imposed will not arise until these negotiations are completed. We are told that the Colonies have made no offer that they do not wish such an arrangement. If that is true, no food dutie

[7] Speech at Glasgow, December 12, 1912.

will be imposed in any circumstances. We do not wish to impose them. They are not proposed by us for the sake of Protection, and there is no Protection in them. They are proposed solely for the sake of Preference; and if when the Conference takes place the Colonies do not want them—I will put it far stronger than that, unless the Colonies regard them as essential for Preference—then also the food duties will not be imposed.[8]

Such was the anti-climax of nine years' effort by the Tariff Reform League to educate the country out of its superstition and to ginger the party up to the business; and it is sad to conclude from the melancholy resemblance of recent utterances that Conservative leadership has advanced little since. The tone of the humiliating plea, that we should put the onus on 'the Colonies' for any taxation of our food, was not worse than the ineptitude which could discard the unpopular Referendum only to propose a double election. Obviously the new device, no less than the other, ignored the proven difficulty of procuring any detailed offer from the Dominions, singly or collectively, *before* the British Government had taken authority to establish at discretion those particular duties, if not established in advance, which were well known to be essential to any worth-while arrangement. So the old dilemma stood impregnable, with Preference apparently dead upon its horns. Not only the Liberals, who for years had pretended to 'celebrate the obsequies,' believed that the end had really come at last. Mr. Austen Chamberlain wrote to his father—who was still sound in mind after six years of physical infirmity had kept him from the fray—that he must reconcile himself to the abandonment of his policy.[9] Efforts were made to patch up the shattered party, preserving its precious 'unity' for—what? The Tariff Reform League struggled on, with dwindling resources, bearing the framework of the movement into the oblivion of the war. As to its subsequent fortunes the account given by Mr. Amery, together with the current reports of Conservative dissension, show that the old obstruction within the party has survived all along. There may be no Whig aristocrat left to exclaim, like Lord Lansdowne (in 1906), 'I particularly dislike the idea of tarring the House of Lords with the brush of Protection.'[10] But political jealousy is not extinct; neither is Finance, which thrives on free exchange.

Surely these things should be pondered by the new crusaders who accuse the weakness of Mr. Baldwin's leadership. He is the third of whom they or their predecessors have expected the impossible. After all, a party leader is appointed to keep an existing party together. In the Conservative Party, at least, he

[8] Speech at Ashton, December 16, 1912.

[9] Hewins, vol. 1, p. 295.

[10] In a letter to Balfour: *cf. Lord Lansdowne*, a biography, by Lord Newton, p. 349.

cannot head a crusade, shedding old supporters to-da uncertain hope of getting new ones, and more of them, to- His attitude towards any new cause will be governed by ing upon party unity, which usually means comprom: Baldwin, who ' never lets down a friend,' has to accommc only the respectable old-gang, but the new colleague unspeakable past, who once could boast that he had ' baı barred ' the very door they would now like to reopen, if face can be saved. Nor is it fair to blame Mr. Baldwin knowledge of Protection and Preference does not happ included in his wide attainments. For example, neith predecessors would have misunderstood the technic ' General Tariff,' which he has habitually used in such ε to spread the prejudicial notion that ordinarily Protectic putting duties on everything. A cause must have a carry it through Parliament. But it is badly handicapp the party leader does not understand it better than this. a cause is never safe when entrusted to a party which c without it. To ensure a straight run, the life of the caus be the life of the party.

History may repeat itself, but seldom with such de fidelity. Within the past twelve months we have seen prophet putting forward essentially the same old plan, the same fatal dilemma; and then, in conjunction v leader of the same old party, beset with more than the s difficulties, proposing the same old subterfuge—with whε prospect of success? At this moment we may imagi Beaverbrook frantically cabling all over the Empire for elusive ' offer.' So far, the most he has been able to pro very restricted suggestion from an opposition party in Aı which is a very different thing from a definite prop Ministers.

But let us keep an open mind. Circumstances do and times are now very bad. Recently General Smuts, v led the Boers against the Empire, has been warning the Dc that the Empire is of more value to them than the logicε ments of ' autonomy.' Even in Canada that sacred never been allowed to obstruct the practical view of dubious commercial advantage; and to-day we see Dominions extremely hard hit by the slump in commodit Is it just possible that, clutching at any straw, one or their Governments might be willing to face the political offering to give us more Preference, to a stated amount, i for a stated Preference here, only to take effect if and ever have a Government authorised to tax foreign fooc Imperial Conference is to meet in September. If the Cons

leaders are still out of office, and unable to test their policy officially, let them ascertain privately from the Dominion Ministers whether there would really be any chance of getting the 'draft treaty' they talk about. Unless they can obtain some such assurance, it seems high time to end this recurrent humbug once for all.

If the retrospect ended at this point, it could hardly be encouraging for the prospects of Preference. The old dilemma is seen to survive, hitherto insoluble by party ingenuities. But there has always been another way open, which the new crusaders may be well advised to explore. *The dilemma vanishes* whenever we decide that the time has come to adopt a modern fiscal policy in our insular interests, employing the same tariff principles as the Dominions themselves. We should then 'broaden the basis,' as Balfour used to say, of our present revenue tariff by extending it to *all* competitive food imports, granting an instalment of Preference to the Dominions, but not exemption except in the final stage of reciprocity. Quite early, Chamberlain's 'Tariff Commission,' in its report on Agriculture, recommended certain duties upon the competitive imports from *all* sources, in fairness to our own farmers. By 1912 the national importance of the revenue aspect was coming to be recognised, as shown by the Lansdowne declaration of policy. Of course, the Dominions would not like to have their exports taxed here, and might even prefer to forego Preference and keep free entry. But while they continued to tax our exports to them, these 'equal States' could have no grievance; and the way would lie open for mutual reductions from time to time. Empire Free Trade, the ultimate goal, would still require 'sacrifice.' But it would then be the same kind of sacrifice for all—*i.e.*, the loss of easy revenue which would have to be made good by more burdensome taxation. Perhaps it was due to the persistent advocacy of this policy by the *Morning Post* before the war that Lord Beaverbrook—who, as Mr. Max Aitken, did not migrate from Canada until 1910—obtained the wrong impression that it was Chamberlain's own proposal to tax food imports from Empire sources as well as foreign. However that may be, this modification has always held the key to Preference without dilemma or subterfuge, and the safest line of approach to Empire Free Trade.

No doubt Mr. Snowden is hostile to Preference; yet his Budget may prove to have helped that cause by intensifying the demand for less ruinous modes of financing the State. How can we afford to go on refusing a revenue of perhaps 30,000,000*l.* a year (after allowing for Preference) [11] from a new range of low

[11] For the statistical basis of this estimate, and a wider discussion of the whole subject, *cf.* the writer's *The Empire in Eclipse*, pp. 275–298.

duties on imported food? It would suffice, for example, to relieve the motor industry and motor users from the present excessive charges, and thereby give much-needed scope to the mechanisation of small-holding agriculture—an undeveloped branch of engineering, with a vast potential market throughout the Empire. Would the consumer really pay the whole of the new taxes, having regard to the intense competition between foreign and Dominion supplies and, in some cases, our own? If the old dogma is true, how can our manufacturers so often protest that they have to cut their profits to vanishing point, or less, in order to enter the protected markets? But if, as so many industrialists here, and all agricultural producers overseas, seem to believe, it is they who have to pay the biggest part of any entry tax abroad, then it appears that this country has been subsidising the exchequers of other countries with untold millions and getting no subsidy in return. Can we any longer indulge such philanthropy for the sake of a fetish?

One lesson of experience, which the new crusaders again may take to heart, is that if you are going to adventure 'food taxes' you may as well be hanged for a sheep as a lamb. In electioneering nothing was ever gained by protesting that only foreign food would be subject to the tariff. It is always 'Your food will cost you more,' just the same. Also, it is very much easier to get the farmers with you if you do *not* propose to exempt their Dominion competitors. But the case for a revenue tariff on food can be put more cogently nowadays to all classes of the community, and not the farmers only, than ever before. While the producers get so little, our food *does* cost us more, because the huge direct taxation has got into the retail price. If we partly substitute an import tax, and the consumer paid it all, the cost to him should only be the same. But do working men and women, who so readily pay more rent in order to be near good wages, still remain under the spell of the legendary terror? Do they really still believe that cheap food is more important than employment? If the Government put on the food duties to-morrow there might be anger in party offices and City closets; but perhaps in the mean streets and country lanes not a dog would bark.

Surely the time limit must be very nearly up for the Conservative Party to show whether it can ever really be the efficient agent of Preference, despite the congenital weaknesses which hitherto have infallibly paralysed it. Perhaps when Lord Beaverbrook decided to launch the United Empire Party his political judgment was, after all, not inferior to his courage. But he appeared curiously unaware of Scylla and Charybdis. His chart was obsolete—heading him straight for the rock of Old Dilemma, had he not succumbed to the sirens of Party Unity. If the new

iip can be refloated, it may yet be fitted to complete the original yage. Paradoxically enough the *Daily Mail's* insular Protec-on is in principle, as we have seen, a sounder starting-point for reference than the old proposal which ignores our own revenue oblem and gives the Dominions at once the whole of what we uld ever offer. To supplement the 'high tariff on imported ianufactures,' which would be an uncertain source of revenue, ith a low tariff on *all* imported food for further relief of industry om its burdens would only be logical. In the House of Com-ions a fourth party, however small, free to advocate this more iodern and straightforward policy without the old entangle-ents, might not have to wait long for the chance to move a solution which many Conservative members, and perhaps a few hers, would take liberty to support. With a much less cogent roposal the Irish Nationalists made the Liberal Government e the line at last. But as to reaction on the old parties, would hurt the country if they were even broken up under pressure of iis really vital issue, which has already been their sport for early thirty years?

RICHARD JEBB.

TARIFFS AND EMPIRE

The question of binding the Empire together by means of tariffs has again become an important factor in British politics. Some of the aspects of the problem, from the party point of view, were dealt with by Mr. Amery in the April issue of *The Nineteenth Century*. But Mr. Amery's contributions to a serious consideration of this subject are spoilt by his rather unfortunate habit of assuming that people who disagree with his views must necessarily be suffering from some mental defect. He declares that in 1845 Sir Robert Peel made an 'unreasoning surrender' to the Free Traders, and that in the ensuing generation Free Trade 'became a fixed dogma, and more than a dogma—a rooted intellectual and moral prepossession which admitted of no discussion.' Later on in his article he expresses his joy that 'the idols of three generations have, almost overnight, become ridiculous and odious.' Such methods of argumentation lead nowhere, and I do not propose in this article to follow Mr. Amery's example. I propose simply to examine facts and to consider what deductions can be fairly made from them.

The suggestion that the Empire should be linked together by means of tariffs and by trade regulations is not a new one. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was a generally accepted doctrine. The assumption—not an unreasonable one—then made by most Englishmen was, that as the Empire had been built up by the activities of British settlers and British traders, and as it was defended from foreign attack by the ships and soldiers of Great Britain, the trade of the Colonies ought to be so regulated that the Mother Country should secure substantial advantages. For this reason numerous statutes were passed by the Parliament at Westminster to compel the Colonies to confine their trade, or the greater part of it, to British ports and British ships. These regulations were many of them bitterly resented by the Colonies, who found themselves often able to do a more profitable trade with foreign countries than with Great Britain. Consequently the regulations of Westminster were frequently set at defiance, and the attempt to enforce them helped to destroy the Colonial feeling of loyalty to England. Up to the middle of

the eighteenth century, however, the North American Colonies could not definitely break with Great Britain because they were afraid of France. But when the French danger was removed by the British conquest of Canada the desire for secession rapidly developed, and when England attempted to obtain from these Colonies by means of taxation some contribution to the expenses incurred by her for their defence they revolted, and after prolonged warfare secured their complete independence.

This piece of well-known history indicates the danger of attempting to force commercial union upon an Empire composed of widely scattered units with widely divergent commercial interests. We may safely assume that few people are likely to advocate in the twentieth century a repetition of the blunders of the eighteenth. Even Mr. Amery would probably hesitate to use force to compel unwilling Dominions to abandon their present commercial independence. As regards the Crown Colonies, probably Mr. Amery would also hesitate, but some enthusiasts for Empire trade have gone to the length of suggesting that as the Colonies are under the direct authority of the Crown they should be obliged to give free entry to all goods from the Mother Country and to tax foreign imports. The same compulsion, if it is applied at all, could constitutionally be applied to India, the biggest of all our Empire markets. To Lancashire manufacturers and to many others in Great Britain it would be an immense advantage to have free entry for their goods into India. In the last century, when England maintained the policy of free imports in the definite belief that it was to the interests of her own people, she was logically justified in refusing to permit India to impose duties on Lancashire cotton goods for the sake of a few cotton manufacturing firms in Bombay and Central India, and to the injury of the rest of India's vast population. But if we are to depart from the policy of free imports for Great Britain, as we have already to a considerable extent done, it would be a scandalous abuse of our power to impose that system upon India for the sake of our own manufacturers. That possibility may indeed be absolutely ruled out. India must be permitted to go her own way in the matter of tariffs, and so also must all the Crown Colonies—so far, at any rate, as they are developing a self-consciousness of their own.

The problem of inter-Empire trade must in fact be considered from the point of view of the Dominions and Colonies as well as that of the Mother Country, and the primary question we have to ask is whether it is possible by purely voluntary agreements to convert the Empire into one commercial unit.

Nearly thirty years ago the desirability of establishing an Imperial British Zollverein was strongly pressed by the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain. Holding the important office of Secretary

of State for the Colonies, he was fired with the praiseworthy ambition to secure the permanence of the British Empire. At the Colonial Conference of 1902 he made an eloquent and powerful speech in which he strongly advocated 'the political federation of the Empire,' while laying special stress upon the necessity for Colonial contributions to the cost of Imperial defence. His words were:

> We do require your assistance in the administration of the vast Empire which is yours as well as ours. The weary Titan staggers under the too vast orb of its fate. We have borne the burden for many years. We think that it is time that our children should assist us to support it. . . . If you are prepared at any time to take any share, any proportionate share, in the burdens of the Empire, we are prepared to meet you with any proposal for giving to you a corresponding voice in the policy of the Empire.

In the same speech he went on to contrast the expenditure incurred for purposes of defence by the United Kingdom and the Colonies respectively. He stated that in the United Kingdom naval and military expenditure worked out at 29*s*. 3*d*. per head of the population, whereas in Canada it was only 2*s*. per head, in New South Wales 3*s*. 5*d*., in Victoria 3*s*. 3*d*., in New Zealand 3*s*. 4*d*., and in the Cape and Natal somewhere between 2*s*. and 3*s*. He said it was 'inconsistent with their dignity as nations that they should leave the Mother Country to bear the whole, or almost the whole, of the expense,' and that he wished to call their 'serious attention to a state of things which cannot be permanent.' He appealed to the Colonies to recognise 'the obligation of all to contribute to the common weal,' and said that no Empire is 'on a sure foundation which is not based upon recognised community of sacrifice.' To this powerful appeal the Colonies made no direct response, and it was apparently in the hope of obtaining an indirect contribution from them in the shape of tariff concessions that Joseph Chamberlain took up the question of Imperial preferences.

Canada had already in 1897, under the premiership of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, established preferential tariff rates for British imports. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was himself a Free Trader, and the purpose of his tariff was to lead Canada in the direction of complete free trade with the Mother Country. But that policy, though welcomed by Canadian farmers, was by no means acceptable to Canadian manufacturers, who insisted that they must have protection against the manufacturers of the Mother Country, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier had to make concessions to them. A few years later the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, demanding still further protection, stated their point of view with perfect clarity. They were willing, they said, to give a substantial pre-

ference to the Mother Country, provided that 'the minimum tariff must afford adequate protection to all Canadian producers.' The same attitude was adopted some years later by the Australians, when British preferential tariffs were first introduced into the Commonwealth.

Confronted with this Canadian attitude, Joseph Chamberlain did not mince his words. Speaking in 1902, he said:

> So long as a preferential tariff, even a munificent preference, is still sufficiently protective to exclude us altogether, or nearly so, from your markets, it is no satisfaction to us that you have imposed even greater disability upon the same goods if they come from foreign markets, especially if the articles in which foreigners are interested come in under more favourable conditions.

The sting of the last phrase in the above quotation lies in the fact that a large part of the goods then sent by America to Canada consisted of raw materials which were admitted free, or at very low duties, whereas practically the whole of the goods imported from the United Kingdom were manufactured goods on which high duties were charged. Consequently the general effect of this Canadian preferential tariff of 1897 was to encourage American rather than British trade. The ensuing results fully justified Joseph Chamberlain's criticisms. During the five years preceding 1897 British imports into Canada represented one-third of Canada's total imports; during the succeeding five years the proportion of British imports sank to a quarter.

When dealing with the difficulties in Great Britain in the way of establishing Colonial preferences Joseph Chamberlain was equally frank. He saw clearly that to give an effective preference to the Colonies it would be necessary to put a tax on imported food, and he did not hesitate to say that this must be done. The result was that at the General Election of 1906 the Unionist Party was defeated by an overwhelming majority.

It still remains true that no British preference to the Dominions or Colonies is likely to be of much value to them unless it includes a tax on foreign food, and Mr. Baldwin's proposal to leave that issue to a referendum is not likely to liberate the Conservative Party from the unpopularity which must result from their necessarily implied advocacy of food taxation.

In addition there remains now, as in the 1903 period, the question of raw materials. This question also closely affects Mr. Baldwin's proposals for a wider extension of 'safeguarding' duties. Are these duties to be imposed on raw materials? Faced with this difficulty in 1903, Mr. Chamberlain was emphatic that raw materials were not to be taxed, but when he was asked to say what was a raw material he refused to reply. The reason for that

refusal is sufficiently obvious—no precise definition is possible. Even in the case of food taxes the question of what is a raw material arises. Oats, for example, are to some extent a food for men, but to a greater extent a food for horses. Even wheat is sometimes used as a feeding-stuff for cattle when poor in quality, and the offal obtained in grinding wheat is always so used. Therefore to put a tax on wheat means taxing not only the poor man's food, but also the raw material of the stock-raising farmer. In the realm of manufacture what is one man's raw material is another man's completed product. Pig iron is the completed product of the iron-maker; it is the raw material of the steel-maker. In turn, steel is the raw material of the ship-builder, of the engine-builder, and of the producers of all kinds of machinery. Going a stage further, we may ask, Are not steamships and locomotive engines and textile machinery the essential instruments, and in that sense the raw materials, of the shipping industry, of the railway industry, and of the textile industries? Therefore to tax engines or ships or machinery as manufactured products would be to inflict a blow upon the industries dependent upon their use. As regards machinery, it is interesting to remember that in the days when Protection was the recognised policy of our country we aimed at preventing, not the importation of machinery made abroad, but the exportation of machinery made at home, lest foreigners should buy our machines and thus be able to compete successfully with our textile industries. Yet to-day, curiously enough, our Government is actually granting credits to assist the export of textile machinery to countries that are keenly competing with the cotton industry of Lancashire. This is a striking illustration of the peculiar methods of politicians when they begin to interfere with trade, for the Lancashire cotton industry is notoriously hard hit by the expanding activities of its competitors abroad, whereas the textile machinery makers seem to be doing fairly well.

The essence of any system of tariffs, or State subsidies, is that assistance is given to certain selected industries at the expense of other industries. Many Protectionists are in the habit of saying that duties will not raise the price of the goods taxed; but the same Protectionists are also eloquent in declaring that our British industries are being ruined by the importation of cheap foreign goods. Which of these two divergent statements is the public expected to accept as accurate? Unless a tariff had the effect of raising the price of imported goods it would obviously be of no benefit to the British manufacturer or the British farmer, who declares that he cannot make a profit at present prices. It is of course true that in one or two special cases, for example the motor industry, the imposition of a tariff has been followed by, or

accompanied by, such an expansion of the trade that it has been possible to reduce costs of production. But that is quite an exceptional circumstance, and in the case of the motor trade it is doubtful whether the expansion was appreciably influenced by the protective duty. Motoring is a modern passion, and in every country the motor industry has been expanding by leaps and bounds. As regards the vast majority of goods, there is no reason to expect that the shutting out of foreign imports would enable home manufacturers to produce more cheaply than they do at present.

We must at any rate assume that industrialists who ask for tariff protection know what they mean when they say that they cannot compete with the low-priced goods that the foreigner is sending here; they want a higher price in order to make their business profitable. From their point of view that is intelligible enough, but from the point of view of the consumer the prospect is unpleasant. Just as all producers want to sell dear, or sufficiently dear to secure a satisfactory profit, so all consumers want to buy cheap, or as cheap as they can for the quality they require. This divergence of interest between consumer and producer has existed since the world began, and will exist till the world ends. If, then, the State is to step in between the two it ought to begin by producing good reason for its action. If certain industries are to be selected for tariff favours, on what grounds is the selection to be based, and who is to determine the conflicting issues?

With the idea of settling this problem, official machinery was set up a few years ago to deal with claims for 'safeguarding.' No claim was to go through without the sanction of the Board of Trade, and after that sanction had been obtained the claim was to be referred to an independent committee for detailed investigation. The result was that a good many claims were rejected, and only some nine industries, all of them of minor importance in comparison with the great staple industries of the country, received the favour of a safeguarding duty. Among the favoured industries was the manufacture of packing and wrapping paper. To put a tax on such a material seems by itself distinctly unfair to the enormous number of manufacturers and traders who require that material for packing and wrapping their goods. But, incidentally, two grotesque absurdities have resulted—(*a*) porcelain dipping paper, used for the purpose of imprinting on chocolates the name of the manufacturer, is taxed as wrapping paper; (*b*) thin cardboard with a fine smooth surface, specially manufactured in America as the material on which figures are tabulated by electrical machines, is taxed as wrapping paper.

According to Mr. Baldwin's announcement, if and when the

Conservatives come back to power, this official machinery for checking applications for safeguarding duties is to be abandoned, and apparently anybody will then be allowed to obtain a safeguarding duty who can put up a case that appeals to the Ministry of the day. Why this should be called 'safeguarding' instead of blunt 'protection' is not obvious. Whatever name be used, we are still left with the problem of deciding why some industries are to be favoured and others to be neglected and often injured.

This difficulty is sufficiently serious when dealing only with the industries in our own country, but the difficulty must obviously become immensely greater when we try to construct a system of tariffs for the whole Empire. The very things that we in England want to obtain as cheaply as possible are the things that our Dominions and Colonies want to sell as dearly as possible. Though some of the Dominions are developing secondary industries of their own, their main activities are still devoted to producing such primary products as foodstuffs, raw cotton, wool, hides, timber, and various minerals. In Great Britain we cannot produce nearly enough of these things to satisfy the needs of our people and of our industries. Some of them we cannot produce at all. We must import large quantities, and the less we have to pay for what we import the stronger will be the position of our export industries with regard to the rest of the world.

Are we, then, to sacrifice our own essential economic interests in order to give favours to the Dominions and Colonies—favours which would be additional to the big favour they already receive in the shape of military and naval defence at the cost of the taxpayers of the United Kingdom? And if we are to give these additional favours, what are we to receive in return? It is loudly proclaimed by British advocates of Empire Free Trade that if we close our doors to foreign products and leave them wide open for Empire products, the Colonies and Dominions will respond by sweeping away the duties—often very heavy—which they now impose upon British manufactures. But the point of view of the Dominions is that it is desirable to have within their spacious territories secondary as well as primary industries, and in order to develop these secondary industries they must discourage the importation of manufactured goods from Great Britain as well as from the rest of the world. No appeals to Imperial sentiment are in the least degree likely to alter this attitude.

It is true that in some cases, especially in Australia, strong protests are made by the farmers and others engaged in primary industries against the burden imposed upon them by the tariffs created for the purpose of stimulating the secondary industries. But the secondary industries are in the towns, and their voting power, being compact, is considerably more effective than that

of the scattered agriculturists; and politicians follow where votes lead.

Moreover, the Dominions, in addition to insisting on protection for their own secondary industries against the competition of the Mother Country, are also extending their trade, both import and export, with foreign countries. Here we come back to the issues of the eighteenth century. Now, as then, the Colonies of Great Britain, whenever they find it more profitable to trade with foreign countries than with the Home Country, naturally prefer to do so. In spite of existing preferences, nearly all the Dominions are now tending to expand their foreign trade more rapidly than their inter-Imperial trade. In the case of Canada there has been in the past few years an enormous expansion of trade with the United States. The following figures from the *Canadian Year Book* for 1929 are worth quoting:

CANADIAN TRADE WITH U.S.A. AND U.K.
(Years ending March 31)

Imports ($ million)

	from U.S.A.	from U.K.
1923 . .	541	141
1924 . .	601	154
1928 . .	719	186

Exports ($ million)

	to U.S.A.	to U.K.
1923 . .	380	380
1924 . .	442	361
1928 . .	497	413

In addition to this striking expansion of her trade with her next-door neighbour, Canada is also increasing her trade with the continent of Europe, especially in the matter of exports. Are we to repeat the blunders of the eighteenth century and call upon Canada to abandon her expanding trade with foreign countries on the chance of being able to find an equally large trade within the British Empire? The same question arises with regard to Australia and New Zealand. Both these Dominions are seeking, and finding, profitable trade outside the Empire, and the volume of this trade is now so large that it is highly improbable that they would be willing to scrap it.

As regards our own trade, the position is practically the same. In spite of the growth of the population of the Empire in the

last fifty years, and in spite of the immense accessions of terr we have received since the Great War, and in spite of exi preferential tariffs, our exports to Empire countries still re less than half of our exports to foreign countries. Depende we are upon our export industries for the life of our people we possibly afford to throw away more than half of our e trade on the off-chance of obtaining better days if we settled within an Imperial ring-fence? As it happens, in the last years the tendency of our trade, as also of the trade of the re the Empire, is to move further outside this suggested fence.

The following are the official figures of British exports fo last three years:

Exports from Great Britain (£ million)

	1927	1928	192
To Foreign Countries . .	382·4	395·9	405
To Empire Countries . .	326·6	327·7	324

It is difficult to see how anyone can extract from these fi any solid reason for asserting that we must look to the Empi the salvation of our industries.

As a matter of fact, there has been a great deal of statement with regard to the industrial depression of Great Bri For political reasons both the Socialist Party and the Protecti Party are painting England blacker than she really is. Bo the United States and in Germany unemployment is tc rampant, in spite of high tariffs which—according to the Pr tionist creed—are a guarantee of perpetual prosperity. Or other hand, though we have a great many unemployed—la as the result of the lavish allowances made to persons who p the dole to industry—we are also able to point to the fact there are more persons employed in Great Britain to-day there were before the war. And England still leads the wor her capacity to export goods and find markets for them ab In the year 1928 the exports of articles wholly or partly m factured per head of population of the principal manufact countries were as follows:

	£	s.	d.
From United Kingdom . . .	11	9	9
,, France	6	5	9
,, Germany	6	14	6
,, United States	5	3	4

This relative activity of British export industries as compared other countries is, of course, partly due to geographical consi tions. We have a very large population in a country much sm

than any of the other three. We cannot therefore live upon our own soil to the same extent as they do. But the fact that we are able to export so largely is a demonstration of the efficiency of our industries. An industry producing for export has to produce goods of a quality and at a price that will enable them to command a sale after they have incurred the cost of transport to the foreign market and after they have surmounted the obstacle of a hostile tariff; whereas industries making for the home market have the cost of transport in their favour as compared with goods imported from abroad, and sometimes also have a tariff in their favour. If, therefore, our people are able to export so much more per head of population than the people of our three principal rivals, there is no reason to take a pessimistic view of our industrial capacity.

Unfortunately fits of pessimism seem to accompany tariff campaigns. During the 'Fair Trade' agitation in the nineteenth century Lord Randolph Churchill, speaking at Blackpool on January 24, 1884, said:

> Your iron industry is dead, dead as mutton; your coal industries are languishing; your silk industry is dead, assassinated by the foreigner; your woollen industry is *in articulo mortis,* gasping, struggling; your cotton industry is seriously sick; the shipbuilding industry, which held out longest of all, is come to a standstill. You find foreign iron, foreign wool, foreign silk and cotton pouring into the country, flooding you, drowning you, sinking you, swamping you.

In a similar spirit Joseph Chamberlain, speaking at Glasgow on October 7, 1903, in support of his Colonial Preference campaign, said:

> Silk is gone. Iron is threatened. Cotton will go. How long are you going to stand it? At the present moment these industries, and the working men who depend upon them, are like sheep in the field. One by one they allow themselves to be led to the slaughter.

If these prophets of woe were still living they would be staggered to see the immense increase in the population, in the trade, and in the prosperity of Great Britain since they declared that we were being wiped out by the foreigner. Modern pessimists will do well to take warning.

We come back to the question whether it is possible to increase our prosperity by limiting our trade to countries within the Empire. The figures above given show clearly the risks we should run. How, then, does it happen that again and again in our history we have had campaigns launched against foreign trade—so far, at any rate, as imports are concerned? The answer, I think, is that a vast number of people find it difficult to get their minds beyond the conception that imported goods are paid for

with money, and that if we buy goods from abroad we are handing over our money to the foreigner. Consequently they argue that it is better to buy goods made in Great Britain, or, failing that, goods made within the British Empire. This sounds patriotic; but is it really so? The popular delusion that we pay for imported goods with 'money' will not bear even a few minutes of serious thought. Clearly our currency notes are of no value for this purpose. No foreigner is going to be content to take little pieces of English printed paper in final exchange for a cargo of valuable goods.

Money, whatever shape it takes, is only useful as a temporary medium of exchange. In return for the valuable goods sold to Great Britain the foreigner will insist on having something of real value. It is true that on some occasions he may be content, or even pleased, to take gold. But there is a very quick ending to the amount of gold we can send abroad, and in practice year in and year out the amount of gold we export is roughly balanced by the amount we import. We must finally pay for our imports of foreign goods by the export of British goods. For brevity's sake the word 'goods' is here used to cover goods and services. The latter, being invisible, do not appear in the monthly accounts of the Board of Trade, but the services of our bankers, our merchants, and our shipowners to foreign countries constitute a very important part of British exports and also provide for the profitable employment of large numbers of our people. In return for these exported services and for our exported goods, we receive from foreign countries valuable things that we want to buy. When all our invisible as well as our visible exports are taken into account the figures show that on balance we are exporting more than we import, which means that we are still making capital investments abroad. That, at any rate, disposes of the delusion that we are on the high road to bankruptcy as the result of buying foreign goods.

From the economic point of view it makes no difference whether what we import comes from foreign countries or from Empire countries. In either case the import has to be paid for by British exports. On the other hand, there is in many people's minds a quite intelligible sentiment in favour of buying from friends rather than from possible enemies. By all means let this sentiment be gratified where it exists, and where its gratification is practicable. But we have to realise that it is quite impossible for Great Britain to satisfy all her wants from countries within the Empire.

Take, for example, the important question of mineral products. In a lecture on this subject last January, Sir Thomas W. Holland, Vice-Chancellor and Principal of Edinburgh University, stated

that careful investigations which have been made in recent years show that 'no single country is self-sufficient as regards the variety and the quantity of the mineral resources that are required, either for the maintenance of civil activities in peace time, or for meeting the much greater requirements of war.' Among the figures given by him the following are of special interest. Of the world's output of copper, 50 per cent. comes from the United States, only 7 per cent. from the British Empire; of antimony, 65 per cent. comes from China and 12 per cent. from Bolivia; of potash, 94 per cent. comes from France and Germany; of quicksilver, 50 per cent. from Spain and 40 per cent. from Italy. On the other hand, the British Empire takes the lead with 91 per per cent. of the world's asbestos and 53 per cent. of the world's output of gold. Therefore for the sake of minerals alone international trade is imperative.

In the case of many other commodities the difficulty, from the British point of view, is that we cannot from within the Empire get enough of the things we must have as materials for our industries. There is also the very important question of quality. Indeed, one of the dominating factors in trade is quality. Some people want a particular quality of article and are willing to pay for it, even if it costs much; others prefer a different quality, very often because it is cheaper. Thus we find Irish farmers exporting high-class bacon to England, and importing cheap bacon from America for their own consumption. We find Egyptian cotton growers selling their cotton to Lancashire millowners, and buying back calico made of American cotton. Women in Yorkshire woollen mills, employed in weaving high-class cloth for sale to the United States, may themselves be dressed in cheap cloth made in Germany. A Yorkshire manufacturer may be buying French yarn with which to make a special quality of cloth for the American market, while his neighbour, a spinner, is producing a cheaper yarn for sale to Germany. These illustrations are typical of the complexities of world trade, and there is always a risk that governmental interference may destroy the trade altogether.

An additional grave risk in the case of Great Britain is that interference with the free movement of trade tends to destroy the advantages which our shipping industry and our merchanting industry enjoy from the fact that in the main our ports are still open for the entry and exit of foreign goods. The owners and the crews of our ships are paid for carrying goods which we import and re-export; our merchants and their clerks are paid for the business of selling the goods. An illustration of how England gains in this matter by cutting down her import duties was furnished by last year's Budget. Mr. Churchill's abolition of the tea duty made England a free port for tea, with the result that in a

few weeks' time Dutch tea merchants were complaining that their business was passing to London. On the other hand, when duties are imposed we lose this profitable entrepôt trade. When the safeguarding duty on cotton lace and net came into operation on July 1, 1925, there was immediately a heavy fall, not only in our imports, but also in our re-exports. There was also a fall in the exports of British-made lace and net. The figures for 1924, the last complete year before the duty, and the year 1929 are worth comparing.

COTTON LACE AND NET

	1924	1929
	£	£
Imports . . .	1,916,000	389,000
Re-exports . . .	1,710,000	71,000
Exports . . .	2,498,000	1,426,000

It will be observed that the net imports, *i.e.*, imports less re-exports, are actually greater than before the safeguarding duties were imposed, while the exports of home-produced goods have declined. Whether our home manufacturers of lace and net have gained anything from the duty imposed at their request is not apparent from these figures, but it is apparent that our merchants and shipowners have suffered a distinct loss. This duty was wisely imposed for five years only, and as it is not to be renewed it will disappear on July 1 next.

These are examples of the risks that Great Britain runs when duties are imposed to check the importation of foreign goods, whether for the benefit of favoured manufacturers at home or for the benefit of Empire trade. In return for these risks, what do we gain? Both Australia and Canada have made it perfectly clear that they are not going to abandon their policy of protection for their own secondary industries, as against the industries of the Mother Country, so that any preference they give will, as Joseph Chamberlain so plainly declared in 1903, be of practically no value to us. New Zealand may perhaps go further in the direction of a real preference, but the New Zealand market is necessarily a very small one. Our principal Empire market is India, but India seems at present far more likely to organise a boycott of British goods than to give them an effective preference.

But even if all the Dominions and all the Colonies threw open their doors to British goods we should not be able to find within those doors a sufficient market to make up for the loss of our foreign customers, nor should we be able to find within the Empire all of the materials that we need for our own industrial life. A ring fence round the Empire would mean ruin to many of our

ɩnufacturing industries, and it would bring no guarantee of ɔsperity to our agricultural industries. The free importation foodstuffs from Empire countries, if sufficient to supply the ɔds of our people, would be as injurious to British farmers as free importation of foreign foodstuffs.

The injury done to the Colonies and Dominions by the estab- ıment of a ring round the Empire would be perhaps less ious than the injury to the Mother Country, but sufficiently ious to make it certain that they will reject, as our Colonies i in the eighteenth century, any plans for limiting their trade countries within the Empire.

In the opinion of the present writer, the idea of trying to bind : Empire together by commercial restrictions is a fundamental 'or. We are too widely scattered, and our commercial interests › widely different, to make such a bond possible. The example the German Zollverein and of the tariff unity of the United ıtes leads us nowhere, for in each of these cases the States ich are brought within one tariff system are territorially con- ɩuous to one another, and the creation of a single external tariff ; meant the sweeping away of a number of arbitrary internal rriers. But when the ocean intervenes the barriers are not ɔitrary ; for the cargoes of ships must in any case be examined landing. Thus Germany and the United States furnish no rallel on which to base any solid argument for our widely :ttered Empire.

If the British Empire is to survive we must rely upon bonds unity which are less prosaic than commercial profits. The ɜsent bonds are a common language, common traditions, and a ɩmon loyalty. If we continue to rely on these bonds, and rightly interpret their meaning, we may safely hope for a permanent ity.

HAROLD COX.

THE SUGAR CRISIS

The year 1929 witnessed a record production of sugar in the world. So great was this production that, although stocks were already unduly high at the end of 1928, over 1,000,000 tons of sugar were added to surplus stocks at a time when the rate of consumption barely increased at all. The result is a sensational slump in prices. The most notable increases in production last year are those shown by the two largest sugar-cane growing countries in the world—namely, the islands of Cuba and Java. Out of a total world production of 28,500,000 tons Cuba was responsible for 5,200,000 tons and Java for 3,200,000 tons. The latter represents an increase of 1,000,000 tons over the year 1926–27; and the Cuban harvest yielded 1,125,000 tons more in 1929 than in 1928. As these two countries provide the bulk of the sugar available for sale in the 'free markets' of the world, they are the determining factor in the price of all sugar admitted to those markets.

The world price of sugar is now so low that it is below the cost of production in every country, with the possible exception of Java. But in nearly all markets sugar is protected by tariffs, and in some by subsidies as well as tariffs. Australia actually prohibits the importation of sugar. Present quotations for Cuba sugar f.o.b. Havana are about 6*s.* 7½*d.* per cwt., at a time when the buyer's price for sugar for home consumption in Australia is 37*s.* 4½*d.* The protective duty on sugar imported into the United States was 10*s.* 3*d.* per cwt. in 1929, and has since been raised. Sugar from Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Philippines is admitted free of all duty into the United States, *i.e.*, enjoys a preference of 10*s.* 3*d.* per cwt. Cuba obtains a small preference, 2*s.* per cwt., in the United States market on account of the large investment of American capital in the Cuban sugar industry, with the result that the American market is fully saturated with the production of America's own dependencies and Cuba.

France has recently raised her tariff from 7*s.* to about 11*s.* per cwt. against all foreign sugars, and admits sugar from her cane-growing colonies—namely, Martinique, Guadeloupe, French Guiana, and Réunion free.

The principal beet sugar country, Czecho-Slovakia, has a

duty of 9*s.* per cwt. against all imported sugar. The
price of sugar to refiners in Czecho-Slovakia to-day is
er cwt., and the export price is 8*s.* 10½*d.* f.o.b.

Britain gives to sugar from her overseas Empire a
e of 3*s.* 9*d.* per cwt. Canada gives to sugar produced
tish West Indies (including British Guiana) a preference
per cwt. Owing to the higher rates of protection and
e given by other countries, the British sugar-producing
cies are very severely hit by the present depression
and the competition of dumped or subsidised foreign

from Australia and South Africa, which produce for
highly protected home markets (Australia prohibiting
s and South Africa imposing a duty of 7*s.* 9*d.*, recently
ll higher), the main sugar producers in the overseas
hich have to export sugar are Mauritius, Fiji, and the
Vest Indies. The latter are the historic battleground
ar industry, and for more than 200 years their fortunes
n or fallen with the state of the sugar industry. Not
he dislocations produced by emancipation or in the
he Continental sugar bounties of the nineteenth century
had to face such a crisis as they are facing to-day.
verage cost of production of sugar in the British West
eclared by the Olivier Report to be 11*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* per ton.
ius it is about 13*l.* per ton. The average cost of produc-
ba and Java is below these figures, but the average cost
tion in all other countries is higher. In other words,
of the world's supply is produced cheaper than in the
olonial Dependencies and two-thirds is produced at a
erage cost. In South Africa the estimated cost of pro-
about 15*l.* 17*s.* per ton, and in Australia 24*l.* per ton.
the high price in their highly protected home markets,
ninions can afford to dump a certain proportion of their
n at a price much below their costs of production. Not
onial Dependencies, whose home markets are small and
erefore dependent on exports of sugar for the prosperity
nhabitants and their internal revenues. The social
ces to the British Colonies where sugar is the main
wealth cannot be exaggerated. A collapse of produc-
only throws out of the only employment available
of peasants and labourers, but indirectly, through
e of Colonial revenues, deprives the people of those
the form of public health and education of which they
greatest need. It may be said that Antigua, St. Kitts,
and Mauritius are wholly dependent on the sugar
British Guiana and Trinidad are in a marked degree

similarly dependent. St. Lucia and Jamaica are seriously affected. In the Indian Ocean Mauritius is wholly dependent on its sugar exports and practically the entire crop is marketed in Great Britain.

The first thing to bear in mind is the steady fall in prices in the market of Great Britain. The prices obtained for British West Indian sugar—unrefined 96° test c.i.f. in United Kingdom ports—varied in 1927 from 19*s.* 3*d.* to 15*s.* 3*d.* per cwt.; in 1928 the price varied from 16*s.* 9*d.* to 13*s.* 6*d.*; in 1929 from 13*s.* 3*d.* to 11*s.* 9*d.* in June last. Since January 1 this year the price has never reached 12*s.*, and in April averaged 11*s.* 1½*d.*, the lowest ever recorded. These are c.i.f. prices, and from them must be deducted freight and other charges, amounting to anything from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* per cwt. Assuming that the producer gets the whole of the preference, there is at present prices a margin of loss of nearly 2*l.* a ton on every ton of sugar produced in the British West Indies. Canada and Great Britain are their only available markets, and the price of Cuban and Javanese sugar in the markets of Great Britain, which between them account for approximately half the sugar imported for consumption in this country, practically determines the price to all other producers not assisted by subsidies or high protection. In order to get rid of some of her surplus Cuba has recently sold consignments of sugar in England at a price giving 6*s.* 7½*d.* f.o.b. Havana. Assuming such sugar comes from the cheapest producers, this must mean a loss to Cuban companies of at least 1*l.* 15*s.* a ton. At present very little Cuban sugar is being sold even in the American market at a profit, and but for the large capital resources and reserves behind the Cuban industry the position there would be disastrous. Cuba is fortunate in that in the good days of sugar just after the war capitalists interested in Cuba were not subjected to the excess profits tax imposed by Great Britain on the British sugar companies operating in the British West Indies.

It must always be borne in mind that of all crops sugar is the most characteristically a capitalist undertaking, as the industry depends not merely upon the application of modern science to the cultivation of the crop, but still more upon expensive factory plant. A modern 'central' is an enormous and costly collection of machinery controlled at every stage by chemical experts. Scientific controls and modern factory organisation have reached the most astonishing pitch of perfection in Java and Hawaii. Immense improvements have also been made in the British West Indies and Mauritius since the war in capital equipment. The number of factories has been reduced and modern plant obtained from Scotland and other parts of Great Britain. But admittedly

in the application of science to the growing of the sugar cane Java leads the world. In soil science and plant genetics Java is ahead of our own Colonies, and for forty years Java has been building up step by step the most advanced agricultural scientific station devoted to the problems of a single crop in the world. The great sugar research station at Passoroean, in East Java, is the most remarkable undertaking of its kind. The recent rapid expansion of Javanese production and its cheapness is due in the main to the work of the plant breeders of Passoroean. As a result of years of scientific work a special cane, P.O.J. No. 2878, has been bred which is exactly suited to the peculiar soil and climatic conditions of Java. This cane, now in almost universal use, has added between 25 per cent. and 30 per cent. to the yield of sugar per acre per annum. It is a cane quite unsuited to West Indian conditions. It could never have been produced, nor the large sum devoted to the Passoroean station (about 100,000*l*. per annum) had the industry not been based upon the complete co-operation and uniform scientific control of all engaged in an industry carried-on on a scale far exceeding what is possible in any one area in the British Empire. The British West Indies have suffered in this respect from their smallness, their varied conditions, their failure to co-operate, and in part to past neglect by the Home Government. It requires the assemblage of a large staff of European scientists working as a team for a period of years before the type of results obtained by Passoroean can be achieved. It will take years to build up a research station comparable to it.

It must be remembered, too, that in Java the variety of cane grown is under the complete control of the European-owned sugar companies. In Mauritius and Trinidad a large proportion of the canes feeding the factories are grown by small negro and East Indian peasant proprietors. It is upon these growers quite as much as upon the British sugar companies that the effects of the present crisis is falling. In other places, such as British Guiana and Barbados, nearly all the sugar cane is grown by the companies owning the factories on their own estates with wage labour. Here, again, it is these labourers who are now feeling the pinch most acutely. The British capitalist may lose his money, but the West Indian negroes lose their means of subsistence—their all.

In Mauritius the companies are largely owned by the descendants of the old French settlers who remained on in the island when Great Britain took Mauritius from France in the Napoleonic Wars. They have proved very loyal to Great Britain, but have preserved in that island a culture and standard of civilisation which has done much for all its inhabitants. They have granted,

as have the British West Indies, a substantial preference to British manufactured goods, from which the British exporter has derived great benefits over his foreign competitors.

It is the social and political quite as much as the financial consequences of the present collapse of the British sugar islands that give so much cause for alarm. The threatened crisis began to make itself clear last summer, and in September last the Government appointed a Commission consisting of the former Socialist Secretary of State for India, Lord Olivier, and Mr. M. D. Semple, a sugar technician, to visit the West Indies and report to the Imperial Government on the situation.

As early as December 31 last Lord Olivier reported to the Home Government by telegram commencing as follows:

> The gravity of the position now embarrassing the West Indian sugar industry, as ascertained by us, and possible loss of preference further threatening its virtual extinction, impel us to convey to you by telegraph this preliminary report of the effect of our general findings. Timely appreciation of true situation by His Majesty's Government appears to us essential with a view to early alleviation of immediate conditions and mature consideration of effectual Imperial policy. Present costs of reasonably efficient production, excluding provision for profit, depreciation, maintenance or improvement, exceed preferential market prices by amounts up to 2*l*. per ton. . . .

This telegram was not published till well into March 1930.

Lord Olivier's full recommendations and his admirable review of all the circumstances were transmitted in a final report dated February 1, 1930, and in spite of protests in both Houses of Parliament and protests in the West Indies this report was withheld for some weeks. When in March these two documents and a similar report by Sir Francis Watts on the position in Mauritius were presented to Parliament they were accompanied, not by any declaration of policy or offer of immediate help, but by a derisory and conditional offer to share with Colonial Governments threatened with something like bankruptcy half the bankers' losses on any advances they might make, not on last year's or this year's crops, but on the 1930–31 crop. The failure of the Government to appreciate the gravity of the present situation and their cynical dilatoriness in the handling of the matter have been voiced on more than one occasion by Lord Olivier himself. Accordingly, criticism of the Government's inaction cannot be attributed to party faction.

The main recommendations of the Olivier Report may be summarised as follows:

(1) By way of an immediate moratorium the British preference on Imperial sugar should be raised as quickly as possible to 4*s*. 8*d*. per cwt.

(2) A sugar-purchasing agency should be set up in Gre Britain, buying Imperial sugar at 15*l*. per ton c.i.f. a foreign sugar at the market price.

(3) His Majesty's Government should make a resolute ende vour to eliminate in concert with other Powers t present disturbing factors of high protective tariffs a subsidies.

(4) A West Indian Sugar Technologists' Association shou be formed with assistance from public funds.

(5) Alternative industries should be encouraged where possibilities for such exist.

There are other recommendations, but the above five r those of major importance within the power of His Majest Government in Great Britain if they have the will to act.

Naturally the West Indies and Mauritius anxiously await Mr. Snowden's Budget statement. He had previously threaten the destruction of the small preference still given by Gre Britain to Colonial sugars in return for the large preferen given by those Colonies to British manufactured goods. Happ the worst has not happened, and Mr. Snowden has continued t existing preference for another year, renewing, however, threat to abolish it during the lifetime of the present Parliame Doubtless he is torn between the declarations of his pa regarding the trusteeship of Great Britain for the colour people of our Dependencies and his hatred of all forms of Imper Preference. The retention of some element of preference is, course, a big concession for anyone holding the strict Cobden faith of Mr. Snowden.

But the fact remains that the Government have ignored t Olivier Report and have taken no action to implement any its recommendations. If ever there was a clear case for increased rate of preference the present emergency would dema it. The cost would be small, and there is no reason why su increased preference as Lord Olivier proposes should not confined to the British non-self-governing Dependencies, whose welfare and prosperity the Parliament at Westminster still directly responsible.

But perhaps the more interesting and novel proposal of Lo Olivier is his suggestion of a purchasing board for the purpose buying Colonial sugar at a fixed minimum price, while fore sugar can be bought at the lowest world price. This plan associated with those put forward by various members of t Labour Party, and notably by Mr. E. F. Wise. If ever th was an opportunity for a valuable experiment of this kind t present sugar situation provides that opportunity. It wou appear that the conditions as to prices, etc., are singula

favourable for the successful operation of such a purchasing board in connexion with this particular commodity. The experience gained in its operations would be of the utmost value in considering the possible extension of the same principle to other commodities for the purpose of stabilising and guaranteeing prices. A great opportunity is being lost.

Meanwhile distress is growing among the poorer classes of the sugar Colonies. Colonial revenues are declining, and some form of assistance will be required before many months are out. Relief works, unemployment pay, advances to peasant growers will no doubt have to be started, and doubtless the British taxpayer will be called upon to help. If trusteeship is to have any practical meaning, the Imperial Government will have to decide how best to relieve the situation. It refuses to act upon any of the recommendations of its own Commission, and must accordingly produce its own alternative remedies. The attitude of the Canadian Government may prove to be important as far as the West Indies are concerned, and the provisions of the new Canadian Budget are awaited with interest. The commercial, banking, and other ties between Canada and the British West Indies have been growing rapidly ever since the reciprocal arrangements between Canada and the West Indies were inaugurated. It is perhaps not realised how, owing to mutual preferences, the trade between Canada and the West Indies has been developed—partly, no doubt, at the expense of trade between Great Britain and her Dependencies. In 1913 the exports of Canada to the British West Indies were valued at 4,601,000 Canadian dollars. In 1929 they were valued at no less than 20,875,000 Canadian dollars. Canada is now predominantly interested in the British West Indian markets, and in default of action by the Government of Great Britain the islands are looking more and more to Canada. Canada may save the West Indies from complete disaster, but Mauritius is out in the cold. Mauritius must continue to look to Great Britain as its only market, for there are no commercial or tariff agreements between Mauritius and any British Dominion. In view of the peculiar history and composition of the population of Mauritius, a special responsibility rests upon His Majesty's Government in Great Britain, and upon them alone. The other sugar islands, such as the Fiji, market practically the whole of their product in New Zealand and Western Canada. The bulk of the sugar estates in Fiji and the dominant sugar company are Australian, but the Australian tariff and embargo shuts out Fiji sugar from Australian markets in the interest of Queensland producers. Only a very small proportion of Fijian sugar is sold in United Kingdom markets. India is also an important sugar-cane grower, but the

Indian crop is insufficient for domestic needs, and India annually imports large quantities of sugar from Java to make up for her deficiency.

As to the general outlook for the future, there would appear to be little prospect of securing any reduction of foreign tariffs, preferences and subsidies, or of securing free trade, or even preferences, for Colonial sugar in the markets of those British self-governing Dominions who are building up their own cane-sugar industry behind tariff walls erected quite as much against Empire as against foreign sugar. The whole problem comes down to questions as to the future fiscal policies of Great Britain and Canada and the effect of low prices upon production in the island of Cuba. In the long run Java can beat Cuba in spite of the American preference to Cuba. Java has climatic, technical, scientific, and labour assets such as are possessed by no other tropical dependency in the world. She is unlikely to co-operate in any scheme of restriction of output, and Java will exploit her great natural advantages to the full. Cuba is, like the British West Indies and Mauritius, in a serious plight. For political and financial reasons Washington cannot ignore the present position in Cuba. All these factors must be taken into account in determining the future course of British policy.

W. Ormsby Gore.

THE HOUSING BILL

A FRESH offensive in the protracted campaign against bad housing, which started nearly a century ago, when in 1842 the Prince Consort became the first president of the Society for Improving the Conditions of the Labouring Classes, will begin this year as the result of the passing into law of the Government's Housing (No. 2) Bill. This passed its second reading without a division in the House of Commons on April 8, but will no doubt be amended in many details during the committee stage in May. Readers of the *Nineteenth Century and After* have been well fore-warned of some of the factors involved by the two valuable articles contributed this year by Mr. E. D. Simon, M.P., and Sir Kingsley Wood, M.P.

My purpose here is to try and do justice to the present Bill so far as it goes. First, however, it is necessary to point out certain fundamental defects. If Mr. Greenwood, as an admitted expert on economics, had propounded a policy for dealing with the slum problem, apart from his position as a Labour Minister, with one eye on Parliament and the other on the next General Election, he might well have produced a Bill which would have lifted the housing question out of the party arena, and placed its control under a National Housing Commission similar to the Electricity Commission. Such a body would certainly not have approved of this Bill, which directly encourages filling up the vacant spaces in our cities with cottages or five-storey tenements and leaving it to future town-planning legislation to provide the antidote. In the debate on April 7 one Socialist M.P. actually advocated building temporary dwellings on 2000 acres of London's parks and open spaces. As will be shown later, it is essential to attract industries and homes out of our crowded urban districts, and the present Bill is likely to have a contrary effect.

Further, Mr. Greenwood, as an economist, must surely doubt the wisdom of a policy which proposes at a possible capital cost to the Exchequer of 250,000,000*l*. to tempt local authorities to fill each of the new houses to the brim. Overcrowding in one place may simply, under the Bill, be transferred to another site, unless

medical officers of health exercise a far more drastic administrative control than they do at present.

Again, Mr. Greenwood no doubt understands that ultimatel success depends upon the building industry. He acknowledge that the present subsidy is far more costly than any introduced s far except that of 1919. The capital value over forty years c the Chamberlain subsidy was 70*l*., and of the Wheatley subsid 124*l*. Now Mr. Greenwood offers as his lowest subsidy 195*l*. counting five persons to a house, and rises to 301*l*. in case of hig tenements. If, for lack of adequate central control, the deman again exceeds the present capacity of the building industry t supply, building costs will inevitably increase. If they rise by a much as 50*l*. a house, a small proportion as compared with th 500*l*. rise of ten years ago, the whole of the increased levy on th taxpayers will be spent without any corresponding benefit bein given to tenants.

These are all fundamental criticisms, but, as members Parliament of all parties have given the Bill their unanimou blessing during the second reading, it is only possible here t suggest such amendments as can be made in the committee stage The Bill is in the main a political measure, shrewdly designed b officials who have handled the problem for at least ten years and who do not think the time opportune for any revolutionar change. They prefer to follow the old paths, and to leave th main action to the local authorities. The burden of the attac on the slums will fall upon the front-line troops. The fightin men will be the members of housing committees of some 200 local authorities in Great Britain; of voluntary housing associations, whose assistance in providing new houses for former slum-dwellers is welcomed; and, above all, the medical officers o health, the surveyors and the staffs of our local governmen authorities. They will be left to work out their own local scheme of attack, and to carry them through unhampered by too rigic control from the officials in Whitehall.

The Bill itself, containing the 'operation orders' for the ne campaign, is an example of clear thinking on a complex subject There are five parts in the Bill, fifty-six different clauses, and fiv schedules. The main provisions are simple and intelligible, wit but few references to past legislation. It should be noted tha officially there is no such thing as a 'slum.' This is a vague although a convenient, word, used loosely to describe a variety o dwellings, ranging from some verminous and worn-out hovel to well-built tenement that, properly reconditioned, can be given a new lease of life for another fifty years. To the official mind slums ar only 'unhealthy areas.' The phrase suggests the root reason wh public money is spent for the sake of the health of the community

As long ago as 1851 the Government of that day, realising that bad homes were the breeding places of disease, immorality, crime, and discontent, decided that local rates could be spent on the erection and maintenance of lodging-houses for the labouring classes. The Public Health Act of 1875, a landmark in housing legislation, gave authorities some control over insanitary property. The great Act of 1890 was the foundation of the work of existing housing committees, and was followed by the 'John Burns' Act of 1909, the Coalitionist Act of 1919, the Conservative Act of 1923, and the Labour Act of 1924. Mr. Greenwood's Bill is a logical, and indeed an inevitable, development from this past legislation. With some slight additions, and minus a few trimmings, it might easily have been introduced by a Conservative or a Liberal.

It has only been possible to bring forward such a comprehensive measure in 1930 because Great Britain has done far more in proportion to her population than any other country in the world in providing homes for her people. The building of a million and a half new houses in ten years is a record of which we have good reason to be proud. The post-war English house, as a rule, is of a standard which surpasses any other working-class dwelling in the world, even those built by wealthy Dutch municipalities and the sunless rooms in American tenements. There is no need to decry unduly our housing progress. Because we have gone so far in meeting the post-war housing shortage as far as the middle classes and the upper working class are concerned, it is possible now to begin to face the difficult task of removing from his squalid surroundings the unskilled artisan and his family, whose wages are small, and whose rent, therefore, must be proportionately low. We may remember, too, that the rate of slum clearance is ten times as fast as it was before the war and take encouragement for the future.

The new Bill attempts to meet the needs of the low-paid workers who cluster in derelict properties in our towns and villages. Victory can be achieved, not only by acquiring and pulling down insanitary property, but by first providing suitable accommodation at low rents for those likely to be displaced. It is useless to pull down decayed tenements if the families simply seek for lodging in neighbouring houses and thus intensify the existing overcrowding. It is also useless to proceed on the lines of the Lloyd George Act of 1919, which gave unlimited State subsidies for houses on each of which there is to-day an annual loss of over 40*l*. a year.

Those responsible for the new Bill have rejected the unlimited subsidy. There have been eighteen different forms of subsidy granted by the State since 1919, and the majority have wisely

been stopped. How far they have increased building costs, Sir Kingsley Wood urged last month, is a controversial poi but they have certainly impeded the reorganisation of the bui ing industry, on which ultimately economic housing depen A National Housing Commission would control building of kinds, and would exercise a check upon the industry, includi the provision of materials. As it is, housing policy, and amounts of housing subsidies, have always varied according political exigencies.

The new Bill has one outstanding merit, for it points the w to a future non-political programme, based on continuity effort and scientific consideration of regional growth. Lo authorities are asked to work out a coherent policy and to subn a programme. Much depends, however, on the success of t experiment of paying public money on a new basis. The chan is difficult to explain in simple language. Under the existing l grants are made to a local authority towards the cost of a clea ance scheme not exceeding one-half of the estimated avera annual loss likely to be incurred by the authority in carrying c the scheme. The Treasury agreed in 1919 to pay a sum limit to 200,000*l.* a year for this purpose, but owing to the slow p gress made, and, recently, to the legal obstacles following t 'Derby decision,' this amount has not been required in full.

Under the new Bill it is proposed to abolish this percenta grant, and to replace it by a fixed annual grant in aid of t expenses incurred by local authorities in rehousing perso displaced. These include the expenses incurred in acquirir clearing, and disposing of unhealthy areas. The scope of t grant will be extended, and so fixed as to give an increased measu of financial assistance to local authorities, and thus enable the to let a considerable proportion of the houses provided for reho ing displaced persons at rents definitely lower than the rents the houses provided under the Wheatley Act of 1924.

The grant is based on the unit of an individual person. T greater the number in the family to be rehoused, the larger t grant, and therefore it is anticipated that local authorities w select families with young children, in order to receive larger sur from the Exchequer. The amount of the grant will normally 45*s.* per displaced person, to be paid annually for a period of for years. In order to meet abnormal needs the grant will increased to 70*s.* per displaced person, where it is shown to necessary to provide rehousing accommodation in teneme buildings of more than three storeys on the site of the clear area, or on sites the approved cost of which exceed 4000*l.* an acı Thus, Liverpool dock labourers desire to live as near as possib to their daily work, but land in the centre of the city is necessar

expensive. In London, too, railway workers close to St. Pancras, King's Cross, and Euston are unwilling to go to homes far away at Beacontree or Downham, two of the L.C.C. housing estates. In order to utilise to the best advantage highly priced land on such an area as Ossulton Street it is necessary to build high, and this is costly. The increased grant partially meets these abnormal cases. In agricultural parishes, where wages are low, conditions are different from those in the towns, and in such cases the grant will be increased to 50*s.* per displaced person.

Admittedly the cost of all these different grants will impose a heavy burden upon the public. How much, depends on how long the reduced rents are to be in operation, and how far the ratepayers will meet rents that are not paid at all. This aspect was ignored in the debate on the second reading. The official estimate given was that if 100,000 persons are displaced each year of whom 20,000 are rehoused in tenement buildings provided on the cleared sites, the annual Exchequer grant proposed would amount to about 250,000*l.* per year for forty years. This charge would necessarily increase annually as further rehousing schemes were completed. This estimate is admittedly tentative. The figure of 100,000 persons displaced in a year is far higher than has yet been experienced, but Mr. W. L. Hare, the well-informed editor of the *Journal* of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, suggests that it looks as if '250,000,000*l.* will have to be spent before the task is completed.' The ultimate total cost will be governed, however, by the triennial review of the amount of contribution, and will be less than the colossal expenditure involved in the unlimited subsidies granted by the Coalition Government in 1919. The Lloyd George Act provided 173,000 houses at an unknown capital charge, which some experts estimate at as much as 400,000,000*l.* Mr. Greenwood has shrewdly avoided the mistakes of his predecessor. The present Treasury subsidy is limited, and the necessary brakes are provided in case of need.

The Bill does not, however, involve any form of compulsion upon tenants to move out from their slums into the new dwellings. The inmates of unhealthy dwellings cling pathetically to their old surroundings, where they have been brought up close to friends and relatives, to their churches or chapels, and the shops which give them credit in times of stress. In a purely Socialist State the authorities would no doubt be armed with powers to compel slum tenants to move to selected dwellings if required, and without such powers there is always the danger in this country that displaced tenants will take refuge with their relatives and friends near by, and will thus aggravate the existing overcrowding. This was one result of the clearances involved in the laying out of

the Kingsway. In order to prevent this disaster medical officers of health will have to be very much on the alert, keeping a careful card index of all families in tenement houses and carrying out regular inspection. Efficient administration applying persuasion rather than compulsion will be very necessary if the operations of the present Bill are not, in fact, to produce increased overcrowding. The housing and health committees of local authorities, under the guidance of town clerks (who will give legal advice), of borough engineers (who are supposed to have technical experience regarding buildings), and medical officers of health, will have to plan the offensive in their own particular district. To continue the military metaphor, there will be three lines of trenches to be taken :

(1) '*Clearance Areas.*'—These are areas where the dwelling-houses are in such a state of disrepair, or are so defective, that they are unfit for human habitation, or by reason of their bad arrangement, or the narrowness or bad planning of the streets, are dangerous or injurious to the health of the inhabitants. These areas must be entirely cleared of all the worn-out and verminous dwellings.

(2) '*Improvement Areas.*'—Here the conditions are equally dangerous or injurious to health, but can be effectively remedied without wholesale demolition. Some of the houses, which block the entrance of light and air, may have to be pulled down, while others may need to be repaired or reconditioned. These 'improvement areas' are, in fact, secondary slums.

(3) *Individual Houses.*—These are like strong points that must be captured. They may be reconditioned or pulled down.

We must not expect spectacular results from the new powers provided to clear areas. Work in such areas has been proceeding for at least forty years, and much more has been done than is sometimes recognised. In Birmingham, Liverpool, Nottingham, Leeds, and many other centres tracts of open land, cleared of noisome courts and unhealthy back-to-back houses, may be seen. In London some thirty clearance schemes have been undertaken at prodigious expense and effort. But while clearances proceed on the one hand, every day more people flow from the provinces into the metropolis, hoping to find, if not fortune, at any rate regular employment, and the task of dealing with this tide of immigrants sometimes appears about as hopeless as that undertaken by King Canute. While, in some parts of the country, houses are standing empty owing to the move southwards, in London the pressure of new residents crowding into lodgings complicates the problem.

This aspect of the question should be dealt with in the new Town Planning Bill which is promised. The present Housing

Bill is one-sided, for it solely deals with clearing unhealthy areas, the remedying of unhealthy conditions, and the provision of alternative accommodation. It does not touch the equally pressing problem of trying to encourage industries to leave our overcrowded industrial centres, and to transfer themselves to garden cities like Letchworth or Welwyn, or to satellite towns, where the workers may dwell close to open spaces and walk to and from their daily work without the fatigue and expense of travelling by rail or road. The importance of decentralisation in dealing with this densely populated country, and of applying skilled planning to our existing urban areas, cannot be overestimated.

The Bill endeavours to meet certain legal difficulties, but evades altogether the problem of paying compensation for property compulsorily acquired, which has been a bugbear of all housing reformers for the last half-century. Before the war the amount of compensation payable to property owners was frequently so great that authorities declined to pay the bill, and good schemes were abandoned. After the war the Coalition Government decided that compensation on site value alone should be allowed where land is purchased compulsorily. A Committee presided over by Mr. Neville Chamberlain reported in 1922 that this system pressed with special unfairness upon owners who were endeavouring to keep their property in good order. It is especially hard upon poor men who have bought their cottages on mortgage. The Committee recommended certain changes, and most students of housing expected that Mr. Neville Chamberlain would endeavour to remedy this present injustice. He had to concentrate on the great reform embodied in the Local Government Act of last year. His successor so far has made only one adjustment, for under the Greenwood Bill local authorities may pay reasonable allowances to persons displaced, who may themselves be property owners, towards the expense of removal, and compensation for loss sustained owing to disturbance of trade or business.

This is a concession that will ease the machinery enormously. I know one case where a poor man bought a small house, partly with the help of his war gratuity and partly with a loan from a building society. He secured a small income from a little shop in his front room. The house was condemned, and the total compensation offered was the site value of 30*l*. The local agitation against this obvious injustice was so intense that the whole clearance scheme was held up.

We may hope that the Government will consider further amendments, probably based on a carefully devised system proposed by the Surveyors' Institution, not with a view to showing

any mercy to the bad property owner, but so as to meet the hard case of the enlightened owner who has spent money to keep his property in as good order as possible. In any case, the English basis might well be improved on the lines of the financial adjustments allowed in the Scottish Bill.

It must be obvious to anyone who considers the question seriously that all the necessary negotiations involved in dealing with slums cannot be very rapid. Even under the quickened procedure it is most unlikely that the present Bill will lead to the clearance of many areas before the year 1935. In the first place, arrangements have to be made to provide accommodation for persons of the working classes who will be displaced. It is also necessary to purchase the land, and possibly to acquire also land adjoining so as to secure a cleared area of convenient shape and dimension. Often in the area there are licensed premises, and in such case negotiations have to be conducted with the licensing justices and the compensation authority under the Licensing Act of 1910. Or in the area there may be private or public rights of way. These and a thousand other matters have to be adjusted by consultation and agreement, and possibly only after a public local inquiry has been held.

The actual carrying out of demolition may be held up by an aggrieved person making an appeal. In the past the appeal was made to the Ministry of Health, but the Bill now allows an appeal to the county court. This is an effort to accelerate the present slow procedure, but it certainly will be severely criticised during the committee stage. For experience shows that county courts are likely to be moved by the human appeal of owners or tenants, and are sometimes not too sympathetic to the colder case put forward by a public body. Accordingly, local authorities will probably not be favourable to the introduction of county courts. In Scotland an appeal has been allowed to sheriffs' courts, without giving entire satisfaction to everyone.

On the other hand, those who object to the growing autocracy of Government departments will welcome the action of the Ministry of Health in divesting themselves of the authority to decide on appeals. From the practical point of view one result of the Bill will be a larger number of appeals, in many cases regarding the demolition of single houses. It will take time and money if the central Government have to despatch inspectors to different areas for appeals regarding huts or cottages. It is possible that in the committee stage an amendment allowing for a right of appeal in the case of large areas to the Ministry of Health will be allowed.

It will be seen that, in any case, clearances will take time. Much more rapid progress may be expected in 'improved areas.'

Here a new opportunity is provided for the cleaning up of a district without undue capital expenditure. But it will mean hard thinking on the part of housing committees and of their expert advisers as well as the support of public opinion. We may hope that men and women with education and experience will be ready to join local authorities and help in finding the right solutions of local difficulties. At present there is far too much criticism of local authorities by superior persons from outside, who talk and write much, but do not take their share in the drudgery involved. Certain bishops even are a little prone to condemn those who toil on local bodies, regardless of the innumerable difficulties not perceptible to outsiders. The new Bill, especially in connexion with improvement areas, will demand a spirit of citizenship in its operation and will involve many tactful decisions.

Rural districts are specially provided for, as the Bill allows a grant of 50*s*. for persons displaced from houses in agricultural parishes. It seeks to ensure the better provision of houses in rural districts by putting a new responsibility upon the county councils. These will be enabled to undertake building work on behalf of a rural district council and to contribute to the expense of rural housing. Furthermore, the Bill places an obligation on county councils to make a contribution of 1*l*. a year for forty years towards the expenses incurred in the provision of houses for agricultural workers or persons of like economic conditions.

There is a separate Bill for Scotland, in order to meet the different conditions and the increased costs. The grant is increased by 5*s*. in normal areas, but there is no special grant to help the provision of tenements of more than three storeys, nor are any facilities given to the building of smaller houses for aged persons. On the other hand, the unit grant is increased by a sum not exceeding 15*s*. a year to meet the situation of the tenement house in which there may be both sanitary and insanitary apartments. It also enables a local authority to provide hostels for single persons, thus setting free houses for families.

It is hoped that this survey, which, owing to limitations of space, has not dealt with every point raised in the fifty-six different clauses of the English Bill, will at any rate convince the reader that the advisers to the Government have framed an ingenious departmental and political measure, and evaded many fundamental issues. It must finally be emphasised that the success or the failure of the present Bill will rest with the local authorities. Whether they will be able, or sufficiently enthusiastic, to meet the strain is doubtful. In many cases existing committees will need to recruit fresh members, or even experts temporarily employed to act as guides.

After existing slums are cleared or improved the captured positions must be consolidated. Further education in schools, or through the medium of women property managers, or housing inspectors, will be needed so that the tenants of the new houses may keep them clean and in good order, for unfortunately in about one-tenth of the homes on post-war housing estates the conduct of the tenants, through ignorance, carelessness or drink, has left much to be desired, and arrears of rent have in many cases reached serious proportions. Fortunately the measure has been framed by those who are under no delusions as to realities, and the officials of the Ministry of Health will no doubt advise local authorities as to the best methods of avoiding the many mistakes made in the past through ignorance. The Bill deserves support, and we may hope that it will justify the high expectations which have been raised. In any case, men and women of all parties should support the local authorities, who are now to be called upon to do their utmost in the coming attack upon the most serious of our present-day social problems.

B. S. TOWNROE

RADIUM: ITS GROWTH IN NATIONAL IMPORTANCE

There were probably few scientists living in 1895 who would have predicted that the last five years of the nineteenth century would provide three discoveries of such far-reaching importance that they would strike at the very foundations of scientific belief. At that time chemistry and physics, more especially the latter, may be said to have been in a state of peaceful serenity, almost complacent in their sureness that no really astounding discovery in either chemistry or physics could be made. In fact, so sure were the physicists of the ground they trod on, that one of their number is said to have remarked that any future discovery in physics would be in the sixth place of decimals. Such a remark, even though it proved so completely wrong, is useful in showing that physics thirty years ago was exceedingly strong in a metrological sense. And yet another world was waiting to be opened up for measurement.

The discovery of X-rays in 1895 by Röntgen revealed a new type of radiation, though its place in the spectrum was not fixed for another eighteen years. Then it was shown that, roughly speaking, these rays are about a millionth of the wave-length of light. Röntgen's discovery was a direct incentive to Henri Becquerel to try to find whether any substance in a state of nature would give out anything like X-rays. Becquerel began a series of researches upon the uranium compounds, a large collection of which had been prepared by his father and grandfather. In 1896 he made the amazing discovery that uranium itself emits some rays which are like X-rays. This discovery was quickly followed up in 1899 by Professor and Madame Curie, who discovered two new substances, polonium (named after Madame Curie's native country, Poland) and radium. There are now nearly forty substances known which have similar properties. Becquerel called such bodies radio-active.

These were two of the three main discoveries referred to: one came from Germany and the other from France. The remaining one was made by Professor (now Sir) Joseph J. Thomson, of the Cavendish Laboratories, Cambridge, in 1897–8. Thomson dis-

covered the existence of electrons, minute negatively electrified particles much smaller than the smallest atom.

The discovery of bodies which spontaneously gave out ray raised many questions in the scientific mind; if these rays carried energy, would not such a discovery strike at the doctrine of the conservation of energy? If such rays came from the atoms, were such atoms likely to remain unchanged in the process? As a working theory of many new facts which had come to light by then, Rutherford and Soddy, in 1903, put forward their disintegration theory of radio-activity. To summarise briefly the main features of this theory is to say that any substance which spontaneously emits radiation is itself changing into some other substance. This may be said to have set the whole scientific world by the ears, except a small number of people who were so intimately at work on radio-activity that they saw no alternative to some such theory; the idea of atoms spontaneously changing into different varieties was particularly unwelcome to chemists. But to-day one hears no dissentient voices.

Radium is a metal, and has been prepared in the pure metallic state by Madame Curie; but for most purposes it is prepared and sold in the form of a salt—generally either sulphate, which is insoluble in most reagents, or bromide, which is readily soluble.

For many years the production of radium was carried out on a laboratory scale; the demand was small, being restricted mainly to a few physical and chemical laboratories. With increasing demands, mainly due to its therapeutic uses, radium production on a larger scale was undertaken. The first source of supply came from the mines at St. Joachimstahl, in Czechoslovakia, and the pitchblende, a mineral containing about 60 per cent. by weight of uranium, was either worked locally or sent to laboratories where the separation and concentration of the minute fractions of radium could be undertaken. Most of the radium used during the war came from the carnotite deposits in California, a very much lower grade of ore containing only about 2 per cent. of uranium. The value of a mineral ore containing radium depends on the percentage of uranium in it, and the ore found in the Belgian Congo just before the war is approximately of the same richness as the pitchblende at St. Joachimstahl. The Belgian company, whose factory is at Oolen, in Belgium, at the present time supply practically all the world with radium, as it is no longer worth while to work the carnotite deposits in California. Even the richest ore from the Belgian Congo will only yield one-fifth of a gramme of radium to a ton, so that 150 tons would have to be worked to recover 1 ounce. Radium has been found in several parts of the British Empire, but at present no very rich ore that could be worked profitably has been discovered.

Radium is a very costly substance. At its present price, 12*l.* per milligramme, which is less than half the price it was during the war, it is still probably the most expensive thing in the world to buy. Were an order placed for such an enormous quantity as an ounce, it is doubtful whether it could be bought for much less than 250,000*l.* sterling. Here is fine ground for controversy. Is there any justification for such a price? Perhaps from the purely business point of view such a question is superfluous, for a thing, no matter what it is, is sold for what the vendor can get for it, and if the purely business point of view is followed it may be rational to conclude that the Union Minière du Katanga have reduced the price to a figure which will keep out competitors and yet give them what they consider a satisfactory profit.

It may, however, be useful to look at the matter from another point of view. Radium is a substance which is being sought the world over as a remedial agent in the treatment of one of the most deadly diseases—cancer. There are two consequences of the high price of radium. One is that the people of rich countries have a bigger chance of getting radium treatment than those in poorer ones, and another is that even in countries which may be accounted rich there is not yet enough radium to go round. There are very few hospitals or institutions in which radium therapy work is being done where the shortage of radium is not felt.

The medical demand for radium does not, however, constitute the world demand, and the newspaper *Havas* recently reported a statement made by Professor R. B. Moore, the chief chemist of the United States Bureau of Mines, that more than one-half of the available radium supplies are used for illuminating the faces of signs, clocks, and watches. People can apparently afford the luxury of seeing the time in the middle of the night without turning on a light or striking a match, but not the necessity of treating diseases at their door. There are other demands for radium, it is true, but in peace-time they are small. Compass charts, rifle and gun sights for night work are illuminated by mixing a little radium with a fluorescent compound; the rays given out by the radium keep the compound glowing for a good many months on end, but the preparations gradually give out less light. The demands for radium for purely scientific purposes in this respect are very small and can in no way be said to influence its market price.

In the early years radium was a product of the laboratory, and preparations of a high degree of concentration were sold at about 30*s.* per milligramme of radium element content. Is there any justification for a current factory price of 12*l.* for something which used to give laboratories a profit at 30*s.*? In

fairness to those running the factory it can be argued: (1) that the laboratory production of radium was purely a side-issue of the main work—this was the case at the quinine factory at Brunswick, where Professor Giesel was one of the first to prepare fairly pure specimens of radium salt—while factory production needs a permanent working staff; (2) that the world will find itself supplied with enough radium in a few years and the factory will be idle; (3) that the type of labour required is costly. This much debated question was ventilated in the columns of the *Daily Telegraph* last year; while Professor Lindemann, of Oxford, took up the position that the present price is indefensible, Professor Sir William Pope, of Cambridge, argued in the opposite sense. They would probably both agree that the one thing certain to bring down the price is diminished demand. Let gun-sights and compasses be illuminated with a radio-activ substance like mesothorium, and let people give up the luxury of radium-illuminated timepieces, and the radium supplies for cancer will automatically be increased.

Perhaps the most striking property of X-rays is their power of penetrating things opaque to light, and nowhere is this seen to greater advantage than in the tissues of the body. One of the first radiographs taken by Röntgen was that of a hand in which every joint could be clearly seen; copies of this photograph soon made their way into physical laboratories all over the world and this new vision of the body was quickly developed by medical men. The aid of such a weapon to medical diagnosis need not be more than mentioned here. Radio-diagnostic technique has developed by leaps and bounds, but by a more patient and laborious way the therapeutic value of X-rays and the rays from radium has been slowly developed. It was natural, in the first instance that the effect of these rays was tried upon skin affections on the lines initiated by Finsen in helio-therapy. It gradually became clear that these new rays could exert a beneficial action upon malignant and other abnormal conditions of the skin. Then bolder spirits attempted to use it for other malignant conditions which involved minor surgical operations; the radium was sealed in either platinum or silver tubes and inserted into the growth. One of the greatest difficulties in the early stages of such treatment was to know what dose of radiation to give. Even at the present time it still remains a difficult technical question, and each case of malignant disease needs definite consideration. The biological effects produced by exposure to radium are too numerous to be entered into here; as a whole, the general effect is a damaging one, but there is one outstanding fact—that the normal tissues vary enormously in their sensitiveness to radiation; malignant cells, too, are not equally sensitive. Some

malignant cells are said to be 'radio-sensitive,' which means they are more vulnerable than the surrounding normal tissues, while others which are less vulnerable are said to be 'radio-resistant.'

In therapeutic work, although the term 'radium burn' is used, radium should not be looked upon as a cautery, and to bring about the desired result in treatment the aim is to avoid anything approaching a burn. Broadly speaking, it may be said that in treatment with radium there are two obvious things to avoid—over-dosage and under-dosage. If the tissues are given an over-dose a state of necrosis sets in, which is an exceedingly difficult condition to deal with, and the last state of affairs may be worse than the first. On the other hand, if parts of the malignant growth are under-dosed, although there may be some temporary benefit, the growth eventually becomes active once more. Generally speaking, there is very little *immediate* effect upon cancerous growths when they are treated with radium. The aim of well-directed radium therapy is to avoid violent reactions and to give just the amount of irradiation which will stop the growth of the malignant cells and eventually cause their degeneration and dissolution, with only the minimum amount of damage to the healthy normal tissues. Although there appears to be no great difficulty in acquiring the technique of radium therapy, the best clinical results can only be obtained by the strictest attention to the details of such technique and a sound working knowledge of the biological and physical principles involved.

At the present time there are very few sites of malignant disease for which radio-therapy has not been attempted in some way or other. In Germany it has always been a source of national concern that she should be in the vanguard of everything connected with X-rays, and this is just as true for France and radium-therapy. By general consent l'Institut du Radium, under the direction of Professor Regaud, holds the chief position in radium therapy at the present time. In Great Britain a big scheme of radium research was initiated by the Medical Research Council immediately after the war. Radium was put at the disposal of the Council by the Government, and this was loaned to various institutions in the British Isles. The early reports which have been published by the Medical Research Council are embodied in a series of publications entitled *Medical Uses of Radium*. These reports summarise the results which have been obtained from year to year. The work which has been done in this way has given additional proof that radium, when carefully used, can be an extremely useful agent in the treatment of cancer. The opinion expressed in the report of the series for the year 1928 is that radium should at present be looked upon as an agent for the

ment of localised cancer, and the more limited the region ;ed, the more chance there is of success. Once the disease is ·alised the use of radium is mainly palliative. This view is exemplified in the treatment of cancer of the womb. If a :rous growth be so limited in extent as to be called operable, it can most probably, in proper hands, be eradicated by ıs of radium. If extensions of the disease from the primary make the disease inoperable, radiation methods may still be ıssful, but only if the treatment is planned to deal with the ıble paths of extension of the disease. Much time must ›usly elapse before statistical proof is available of the value of ›articular therapy in a disease so likely as cancer to recur after years.

hirty years after the discovery of radium we find it assuming a of national importance, or rather international importance, ı committee of the League of Nations has for some years been ›aring *the results obtained by radium treatment of one* :ular variety of cancer in many parts of the world. Evi- : of its national importance to us was seen by the extra- ary readiness of the response to the appeal for radium which nade last year as a thank-offering for the King's recovery. the money subscribed radium is being bought by the ›nal Radium Trust, and the duty of distributing and arrang- he conditions for use is in the hands of the Radium Com- ›n, of which Lord Lee of Fareham is the chairman. The on of this Commission has been—and few will doubt the ›m of it—to concentrate the greater part of the radium at :al centres throughout the United Kingdom where medical ls exist. This will ensure not only a concentration of the m for treatment at centres in populated areas, but it will 'e that the rising generation of medical practitioners will get ıction in a form of therapy the utility of which cannot be d.

SIDNEY RUSS.

WIRELESS MUSIC

THE question of the relations between music and wireless is one which is already of importance, and which will become more and more important to the musician and the music-lover as time goes on. There is little doubt that the music-lover of the future will find himself practically restricted to wireless for his education and entertainment, since for each one concert that he can attend personally he will be provided with perhaps twenty by wireless, if he is a town-dweller; for the countryman the proportion will be more like two hundred to one. As a matter of fact, this is in reality no prophecy, but a mere statement of present-day conditions, except in so far as it may be contended that at the present day wireless reproduction is so poor (in the majority of cases) that one concert attended is worth more than the twenty (or even the two hundred !) heard by radio. This is, however, only a passing phase: already receivers are available that put the wireless listener nearly on the level of the concert-goer, though it seems likely to be a very long time before he will be quite on that level.

These relations between music and wireless can be considered from two points of view: first, the difficulties that present-day wireless technique puts in the way of faithful reproduction, and how these difficulties can be circumvented; and, secondly, the possibilities of new musical results that wireless technique offers. The difficulties are obviously destined to decrease in importance and the possibilities to increase. Again, both must influence the modern composer, whereas only the former need be considered in the case of works already existing. For these reasons, it will be clearer if they are dealt with separately.

First, then, as regards the difficulties imposed by present-day technique. As already stated, with the progress of this technique, these difficulties will undoubtedly decrease in importance. Nevertheless, they cannot be ignored at the present day, and we have no means of knowing with what rapidity they will be overcome. It depends chiefly on the receiving set and loud speaker. Progress here is bound to be slower than in the case of improve-

ments at the sending stations, since it is not a question of one rich company or corporation, but of a myriad of listeners. Should the 'perfect' receiving set appear on the market to-morrow, even at a price no greater than that of an average set to-day, it would be several years before it ousted all or even the majority of present-day receivers; and there is, unfortunately, little likelihood of it appearing yet—above all, at such a price. From the technical point of view the chief trouble is the bad reproduction of the high notes, and more especially of the high overtones. Without going into details, it may be noted that this is directly caused by the overcrowded ether. The excess of broadcasters limits the pitch of the highest notes that can be transmitted by any station without interfering with others, and also makes unsatisfactory the reproduction of the upper notes that are transmitted, because it is difficult to design a receiver that will reproduce them satisfactorily and yet be selective enough to meet present-day conditions.

The question of these difficulties is especially grave in the case of music already written which we desire to transmit by wireless, since the modern composer can take steps to get round them. It is the difference between the translation into a foreign language of an existing passage and the composition of an original essay in that language. In writing of the translation of poetry, Voltaire said that the best translation is that which produces in the mind of the reader as nearly as possible the emotions experienced by the reader of the original—that is to say, that the translator may use other means than those used by the original writer, and that, in appearing to depart from his text, he may be in reality drawing closer to it. To what extent, then, does music as heard by wireless reproduce the intentions of the composer?

The answer obviously depends on the music in question, and it can be said that, in general, the type of music that sounds best by wireless is that of simple melodic line, of strongly marked rhythm, and of fairly simple harmony. For example, Bach broadcasts better than almost any other composer, because his music possesses these characteristics. Another example is jazz, which also 'comes through' excellently as a rule, and, surprising as it may appear at first sight, for the same reasons: its melody is generally very easy to grasp, the harmony very simple (not to say puerile), and the rhythms extremely strong and heavily accented. Generally speaking, we may say, then, that any music possessing these three qualities is likely to sound well by wireless —provided that those instruments which are known to reproduce badly (we will consider these later) are not given too prominent a part.

It is interesting to note in this connexion that a good deal

of modern music broadcasts very well, the reason being that modern composers have to a very large extent returned to a greater clarity of style and have reacted against the very thick and complicated harmony of the music of twenty years ago. In fact, one can hardly do better than to quote as the ideal M. Florent Schmitt's description (in a personal letter to one of the authors) of his *Çançunik*, the first French work to be written specially for wireless: 'Piecès très claires, sans excessive polyphonie. Idées simples, directes, "sens unique," exposées de préférence aux instruments à vent qui sonnent mieux en T.S.F. que les cordes.' It is also worth noting that it is better to avoid large masses of sound—in other words, that a small orchestra is likely to be better than a large one. The examples given—Bach and jazz—hold good here also.

From what has just been said, it is obvious that the type of music which does not reproduce well by wireless is that which depends upon thick harmony and subtlety of orchestral colouring, and in which the melody (if any) does not emerge easily from the rest. One thinks at once of Debussy, and he is, indeed, one of the best examples of a composer whose music is badly reproduced by wireless. Wagner, too, is frequently (*e.g.*, in *Parsifal*) most unsatisfactory when broadcast: the music is apt to sound confused and even turgid. The reasons, however, are not the same in the two cases: with Debussy broadcast performances tend to be unsatisfactory on account of the extreme subtlety with which he combines his 'timbres,' whereas with Wagner it is more a question of the simultaneous presence of various equally important *motifs*. Also, in both cases, the harmony is thick.

What can be done in such cases? The purist will no doubt demand that the music be played as written. This, if present tendencies are any guide, will mean that music which does not reproduce well by wireless will be more and more neglected—at any rate, until the time comes when wireless reproduction becomes 'perfect.' Something can, however, be done, even if the purist's contention is accepted, by rearranging the orchestra in relation to the microphone. It should, however, be realised that this is practically equivalent to altering the composer's scoring—at any rate, as regards the balance of his instrumentation.

Another possibility, and one which demands serious and immediate study, is the replacement of certain instruments which reproduce badly by others more adapted to wireless. The outstanding examples of such instruments are the double-bass and the timpani, more especially when rolled. Possible alternatives for the former are bassoons doubled at the octave by 'cellos; or bass tubas alone or similarly doubled; or possibly some special instrument to be developed, somewhat on the lines of the bass

hone, but coarser in tone. The replacement of the timpani far more difficult, and the only likely substitutes seem to be nature of rough-toned organ stops, or of electrical audio-ency oscillators modulated at sub-audible frequencies. is also the possibility that, at any rate in some cases, the ion may be saved by adopting a *slower* roll—that is to say, which the separate beats of which it is composed do not one another so rapidly. This question of the replacement of ments is one of the most important, since it means the ion for the wireless listener of many of the greatest existing . For example, in the allegro of Beethoven's *Fifth Sym-*, where 'cellos and double-basses have the melody in unison octave, not only is the double-bass part indistinguishable reless, but its presence makes the 'cellos also sound muddy. ame effect occurs in the last movement of the *Ninth Sym-*.

iere is a good example of the effect of the timpani roll in ow movement of Beethoven's *Fifth Symphony*, where the ly, in oboes, horns and trumpets, is accompanied by a demi-quaver figure on violins and violas, and by the timpani. last, in the first three bars, play detached notes, and every- remains perfectly clear; in the fourth and fifth they are , and, as a result, the string figure mentioned becomes hope- muddled.

nally, there are cases where such replacements of one instru- by another of similar colour do not suffice, and where it may cessary to hand over the particular part that is lost in casting to a completely different instrument. In extreme experience may even prove it necessary to suppress certain entirely. After all, such rescoring is no more sacrilegious rescoring for small orchestra, and in so doing we may be faithful to the intentions of the composer than in leaving as they are. If it is sacrilege to change anything, it is in n cases even more sacrilegious to leave it as it is and broad- ie result, and we are driven back to the view that such works t be reproduced by wireless at all, and must therefore fall blivion. The problem will have to be faced.

ove all, stress should be laid on the need for immediate and l experimentation. For example, one of the works just oned should be played several times in immediate succession various scorings, including the original, to a jury of musi- ; this need not necessarily be done by wireless (though test would be extremely interesting—at any rate, in the stages of experimentation), since the same result could be ed by having the music picked up by a microphone and uced in another room by amplifiers and loud speakers;

provided these were adjusted to give 'average wireless reception' results.

Much can also be done by the broadcast engineer in the way of oscillograph studies of the 'difficult' instruments and their possible substitutes, of course in very close co-operation with musicians.

Another difficulty which has not so far been mentioned here is that of the scaling-down of nuances. An orchestra can range from *ppp* to *fff*, or about 1 to 1,000,000: for wireless reproduction the limits are from about *p* to *f*—say, 1 to 10,000, or 100 times less. If these limits are exceeded, the softer passages are liable to be swamped by parasitic noises (atmospherics, noises from electrical machinery, noises caused by the receiver itself, etc.), and the louder ones are liable to overload the receiver and 'blast.' At the present day the tendency in many cases is to allow the orchestra to play with normal light and shade, and to have this kept within the permissible limits by a more or less musical 'control engineer.' This is, of course, entirely wrong, and makes the conductor's position ridiculous, as his indications to the orchestra can in effect be reversed by the control engineer, who becomes master of the situation. There is room for one captain only on the orchestral bridge, and it is up to him to reduce the nuances, scaling them down throughout—that is to say, if the loudest passage be *ff* and must be reduced to *f*, all minor crescendos and diminuendos must be reduced on the same scale.

The part played here by the engineer should be reduced at the most to helping the conductor to realise how his orchestra is being reproduced in this respect, and this can be done by fitting a simple electrical indicator at his desk. A more radical innovation which has found favour in some quarters is that of isolating the conductor from his orchestra by means of a sound-proof glass partition, so that he hears only the performance as reproduced through a loud speaker. There seems considerable room for doubt as to whether such drastic measures are necessary or even desirable (except, perhaps, in the case of a conductor who has had little experience of wireless performances): it would make rehearsals unnecessarily difficult, and one would imagine that the conductor would feel too much isolated from his orchestra. In general, it would probably be better to expect conductors to develop a new technique and to train themselves to know how their orchestras are being reproduced, with, at most, the help of the indicator already mentioned. After all, under normal concert conditions, a conductor does not hear the orchestra as the audience hears it, and he has to train himself to allow for the alteration of balance by which, for example, soloists and violins appear stronger to him relatively to the rest of the orchestra than they do to the audience.

ıe dual control of conductor and broadcast engineer appears sary in the case of public concerts which are also transmitted ireless (and is one of the reasons for doubting whether such rmances are desirable), since the concert-goer will demand al light and shade. This, however, raises two very interest- oints. First of all, the question as to the relative rights of irect and the wireless listener: it is significant that the 'ement of the orchestra at the Queen's Hall B.B.C. concerts longer that which is generally accepted as giving the most ıctory results to the direct listener, but one which better the microphone, and this is, of course, entirely as it should But there is the second and very fascinating question whether abituating of the music-lover to the more delicate nuances eless transmission may not tend to make him satisfied with, even demand, such reduced light and shade in all per- ınces.

far, then, in very brief summary, the principal difficulties ;ards the performance for broadcasting of works already ıg. As already stated, these difficulties are far more readily untable in the case of works specially written with a view reless performance. Thus, for example, the double-bass ɔt be used, and there is no need to seek for some instrument, nbination of instruments, that resembles it: the part can ϲen by any instrument which the composer pleases, as, for ɔle, the bass saxophone, saxhorn, bassoon, tuba. Again, ni rolls will be avoided; possibly the timpani and some percussion instruments will disappear altogether, and the ning of rhythm thus caused may be made up for by other ·, such as pizzicato strings or the banjo. And so with each lty. A more detailed study of the individual instruments this point of view, by one of the present authors, will be in the New York *Musical Quarterly* for January 1930.

w that we have reached the question of works written lly for wireless, we can also deal with the *possibilities* of its que, and this is an even more interesting subject than that difficulties. Unfortunately, to go at all fully into these ilities would demand a technical treatment that would be place here. Some of the simplest ideas can, however, be ted. One of these is the fact that the balance of the tra is now entirely in our hands, since we can adjust the ces of the various instruments from the microphone to suit res. In this way, should we, for example, desire to give a some instrument whose tone is feeble, such as the harp ss clarinet, we need not reduce the rest of the orchestra cally to silence in order to make this one instrument

audible, since all we have to do is to move it nearer to the microphone. This same device allows also of a solo instrument being made to stand out from among others of its own kind, as in the case of a solo violin accompanied by violins. Further, instruments which are at present unusable in the orchestra because their tone is too feeble can, for broadcast purposes, be used in this way by merely locating them near the microphone. For example, the curiously individual clean tone of a tuning-fork can hold a middle pedal against no matter what orchestration and still be fully audible. There may be quite a brilliant future for the jews-harp, or for the humble mouth organ! In this connexion, also, a great deal could be done with the clavichord—an extremely beautiful instrument whose tone is unfortunately so weak that it is practically impossible for it to make itself heard against an orchestra in a concert-hall.

Again, still by the same simple method, the weak registers of existing instruments can be made audible without the need for repressing the rest of the orchestra—for example, the higher harmonics of a violin, or the middle register of the flute. Every composer knows how difficult it is to cope with this question of weak registers, and one continually hears passages which do not sound as well as they look on paper on account of a momentary inattention to this point on the part of the composer. A curious effect is that of a banjo (or pizzicato violin) plucked at some distance from the microphone and then swung nearer to it so that the vibrations of the string after plucking (normally almost inaudible) are strongly heard: this is, of course, a mere trick of very limited application, but the effect is striking.

Perhaps, however, the most interesting possibility in this direction is that of being able to retain the pianissimo *quality* of the solo instrument while causing it nevertheless to dominate any orchestration desired. This is, of course, particularly interesting in the case of those instruments where the difference between pianissimo and forte quality is most marked—the violin, for example. The effect of a muted violin played with the pianissimo quality and yet dominating a forte passage must be heard to be appreciated. But the instrument which lends itself most strikingly to this procedure is, without doubt, the human voice, since there is such an enormous difference between the loud and soft voice, both in quality strictly speaking (*i.e.*, the presence or absence of overtones) and also in the less readily defined *emotional* quality.

Thus, for example, for wireless production it is no longer necessary for the operatic hero to shout his love in order to be heard above the orchestra, nor for the orchestra to be reduced to almost complete silence in order to leave him audible when singing

: if he is near enough to the microphone he can coo as as any sucking-dove, and yet remain perfectly audible st orchestral tumults; and the really curious feature is though his proximity to the microphone makes his voice eard in the loud speaker) louder than the orchestral forte, etains, nevertheless, the effect of gentleness, because the ssimo *quality* is retained.

nis curious feature is even better displayed when a solo speaks its part instead of singing, as in many modern works Schönberg's *Pierrot Lunaire* and *Gurrelieder* or Obouhov's *of Life*). Two very pertinent examples can be quoted here, from ultra-modern music—Honegger's *King David*, not en specifically for wireless performance, and the Hindemith-*Lindbergh's Flight*, which figured among the special ' Broad-Iusic ' at last year's Baden-Baden festival, and was trans-d by London (from Berlin) on March 18 this year. It will nembered that in the former a ' narrator ' speaks the biblical gainst orchestra and chorus ; in concert performances he is l to strain his voice considerably, and even so is by no means 's intelligible. The work was, however, done last year as a performance (from Radio-Paris, with Honegger himself ucting), and on this occasion the full beauty of the biblical , spoken with a quiet and restrained solemnity yet at all clearly audible, was fully realised, and the resultant per-nce was something to be marked with a white stone in musical experience. In the case of *Lindbergh's Flight* the was deliberate ; and it is of interest that this appears to been the first time that a composer has definitely indicated ne wished it to be produced. Here, in the dialogue between lbergh ' and ' Sleep,' his replies to her sung temptations are n, each time more and more softly, until his last ' Ich bin müde ' is an almost inaudible whisper ; that is to say, it has ffect of being almost inaudible because of its whispered y, although in reality it is perfectly clear—probably nearly ud as the voice of ' Sleep.' The resulting emotional effect ardly be conveyed in words, but was overpowering at the ent.

efore leaving this simplest example of the possibilities d by wireless technique by the placing of special instru- or soloists relative to the microphone it may perhaps be ble to add that in the case of an instrument which is only ntarily to be thus used there is no need for the player to nearer to the microphone : he can sit where he is and a te hooded microphone can be cut in at the proper moment d in,' to be more accurate) in order to pick him out from his colleagues.

Although we are dealing now principally with music to be written in the future, which can therefore take advantage of the new technique, there is a fascinating question that cannot be passed over in silence: to what extent would composers of the past have used this technique, and more especially this simple device of 'unbalancing' the orchestra, had they been able to do so? The case that strikes one at once and most forcibly is that of the concerto for solo instrument and orchestra. One feels that the most perfect form of the concerto is that in which the accompaniment is of equal importance with the solo part—in fact, where it ceases to be merely an accompaniment. Unfortunately, in ordinary concert performances, this can hardly ever be the case, since the relative weakness of the solo instrument forces one of two alternatives: either a solo with the orchestra accompanying (that is to say, with the orchestra kept under) or alternate passages between solo instrument and full orchestra. It is obvious that the concerto form would be far richer were it not necessary thus to limit strictly the scope of the orchestra; and with wireless technique this is no longer necessary.

The question is not merely one of volume of sound, but also of the difference, in quality of tone and of technical possibilities, between the solo instrument and the 'tutti.' One notices, for instance, the lightness and crispness of a theme when played by the soloist, and its heaviness and clumsiness when played by the orchestra. It may be objected that this effect is intentional: in certain cases, such as Bach's opposition between the 'concertini' and the 'ripieni,' it undoubtedly is so; but in the great bulk of concerto music since the eighteenth century the effect is not intended, as is clear from the character of the themes. For example, take the main theme of the last movement of Brahms' great violin concerto. This theme, by its lightness and rhythmical accentuation, is delightful on the solo violin, but when taken up by the full orchestra seems blunted and lacking in the life it had previously. One cannot help feeling that, if Brahms could have done so, he would have preserved the true character of the theme by leaving it to the solo violin, and yet would have used the powerful fortissimo of the full orchestra at the same time.

Again, in opera surely composers would have been only too glad (and audiences equally so!) had they been able to allow the singer to make a real pianissimo without fear of being inaudible, while all the more 'frightful' side of opera, with its tempestuous tenors, screaming sopranos, and bellowing basses wallowing with 'cellos and trombones in a shapeless mass of sound, would become such a palpable absurdity that it could no longer be tolerated. Indeed, in opera the composer's indications as regards 'piano' and 'pianissimo' have often to be disregarded or taken only as

ıdication of what would be desirable, so impossible is it to ın the ideal balance between singer and orchestra. How . more effective, for instance, would be the greater part of *as and Melisande* were the singers not continually forced to too loud or to mouth the words, utterly spoiling the exquisite ement of the work. It may, of course, be objected that this ›alance' by having the singer close to the microphone is .ossible for opera; which, however, raises the question as to :her the ideal opera performance of the future will not be a ›ination of film and electrically recorded music, the singers :he actors not being necessarily the same—with the result that y-weight Hansels and Gretels and Evas and Davids may ›pear.

ut it is not only in music for solo voice or solo instrument orchestra that the great masters of the past could have used ›ossibilities that are now offered to us. This is not, however, place for a study of this question, nor does space allow ıples to be given of cases where composers have obviously : up against the difficulty of balance, and as a result have ı to a powerful instrument some melody which we might .'e they would have given to a more delicate one had they been momentarily to unbalance the orchestra in its favour. The 'e examples will suffice to make the matter clear to the non-ıical reader, and will, it is hoped, give some idea of the vast .bilities lying dormant in a seemingly simple device.

'his particular example of wireless possibilities, the 'un-ıce' of the orchestra by the placing of instruments in relation .e microphone, has been dealt with at perhaps undue length, , thanks to its simplicity, it can readily be appreciated without ıical knowledge. A few other possibilities may be very briefly :ioned. For instance, normal instruments can be given entirely tone colours by isolating their players in sound-proof booths fitted with its own microphone, and by electrically filtering ›utputs from these before they join that of the rest of the ›stra. Thus an instrument such as the natural trumpet, . already possesses a very pure and individual tone, can be ›realised' by the removal of upper harmonics, with the t that, practically speaking, we have enriched the orchestra new instrument, and that without the need for training ›rs to use it. The reverse process, where the fundamental note actually played) and some of the lower overtones of an ıment are similarly filtered out, gives equally striking results: for example, the upper overtones of the bassoon can be left 'ing' in this way, with the result that we have to all intents ›urposes a new member of the wood-wind family, sounding ıps two octaves higher than it is really playing.

Again, by a more complicated process, any instrument can be transposed up or down at will—that is to say, can be made to appear to be playing higher or lower in pitch than it really is. This enables the composer to write in any key he pleases, without troubling as to whether it is easy or difficult for any particular instrument (as, for example, the key of A flat major, extremely difficult for the flute), since the player will merely use another key in which the execution is easy, and the result will be transposed electrically into the key desired. This device can also be used to extend the register of any instrument upwards or downwards. Horrible thoughts suggest themselves of the coloratura soprano transposed, say, an octave higher than she is really singing !

One point should be emphasised—the need for immediate experimental work, by musicians and broadcast engineers in close co-operation. Germany is already doing this (at the Berlin ' Wireless Academy '), and the example should be followed in England. It should be noted that there is no need for these experiments to be themselves broadcast : as in the case of the experimental work which ought to be done on rescoring, it suffices if the music be picked up by a microphone and reproduced by amplifier and loud speaker, without any wireless transmission intervening at all. It is also worth mentioning that this same procedure can, of course, equally well be used for concert performances of specifically wireless music, the orchestra playing in a separate hall and being reproduced by loud speakers for the audience. At any rate in the case of small works (chamber music, etc.), this can readily be done at any hall fitted for the electrical reproduction of gramophone discs, as in the case with many cinemas and dance-halls, so that the composer who wishes to use wireless possibilities (that is to say, to compose music which would be unplayable except by wireless) need not fear that the B.B.C. monopoly will prevent his works being performed.

Nevertheless, for really satisfactory progress in this branch of music, it is almost essential that the B.B.C. should interest themselves in the matter, since, even in the case of such concert performances as those just mentioned, their store of accumulated knowledge of echoes, placing of instruments, microphones, amplifiers, and loud speakers is almost a *sine qua non* ; and, of course, in any case their co-operation is necessary if the work is to reach the stage of wireless transmission. A possible suggestion is that they should produce, as public ' loud-speaker ' concerts, such musical works of an exclusively wireless nature as may seem promising (perhaps together with wireless plays in order to vary the programmes), so as to give them a trial before deciding whether to broadcast them or not. In this way the composer would have more inducement to write for wireless, since his chances of pro-

›n would be greatly multiplied, and the progress of this . of music in Britain would be greatly encouraged.

eanwhile, the position is that Germany has taken the lead ; matter to a degree which cannot appear satisfactory to ·ishers of British music. Thus, for example, works specially :n for wireless by Butting, Künnecke, Weill, Hindemith, ann, Humpert, Pepping, Fitelberg, Eisler, Grosz, and · have been produced by German broadcast stations, and as ; a new work appears at least every month. Outside Ger- about all that can be quoted is a work by Goldbach (at , and one by Florent Schmitt already mentioned, but not yet ıced by radio. It is also understood that something is to be shortly in Italy. It may, however, be added that, although cases the *difficulties* of radio transmission have been more or ıtisfactorily overcome, practically no attempt has been made ːe advantage of the *possibilities*, with the exception of the ːmith-Weill *Lindbergh's Flight* already quoted, and here only ·ery limited extent.

ıere is therefore still time for British composers to take the n writing music which can really be called ' wireless music,' iting its new possibilities as well as overcoming its difficul- and the shortest way to attain this would be for the B.B.C. ow the example of Milan, Brno, and above all of the German ns, and give the necessary encouragement.

LENNOX BERKELEY.
R. RAVEN-HART.

THE NATIONAL THEATRE

AFTER preliminary work lasting for a quarter of a century, the National Theatre movement has collected a sum of nearly 100,000*l.*, several distinguished protagonists, and the good-will of a Prime Minister, but not yet, apparently, a precise plan of campaign. This may soon be remedied, for the matter is being greatly agitated. A mass meeting has just been held, correspondence is appearing in the Press, and stimulating discussion is rife. This being the position, it is interesting to see if anything can be learnt from the history of the playhouse that holds the title of the National Theatre at present—that is to say, Drury Lane. A brief recital of its varied fortunes may serve as one beacon, at least, to those who are now at sea.

On May 7, 1663, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, was opened with a comedy by Fletcher called *The Humorous Lieutenant*. Thomas Killigrew, a groom of the bedchamber, was the manager, and he had with him a company of actors which had been formed under royal patent three years before at a house in Vere Street. Behind Killigrew and his company was the favour of the newly restored Charles II., who allowed them to call themselves 'His Majesty's servants' and to wear the royal livery. The only rival was the Duke's Theatre, which stood on the south side of Lincoln's Inn Fields, and which was under the control of Sir William Davenant, the Poet Laureate.

The King's Theatre was a smallish place on a site of 112 ft. by 59 feet, with a pit open to the sky, covered boxes, and two covered galleries. It was quite probably designed by Christopher Wren. The prices of admission were, according to Pepys, boxes 4*s.*, pit 2*s.* 6*d.*, middle gallery 1*s.* 6*d.*, upper gallery 1*s.* Allowing for the difference in money values, these prices were high, and it is interesting to note that Pepys, himself a substantial official, used the middle gallery at 1*s.* 6*d.* It was certainly not a 'popular' theatre. The stage folk of that day lived by the king and court, and hated the citizens of London as much as they were hated by them in return. There was a good reason for this bad blood, for the citizens would not allow a theatre within the jurisdiction of the city on the ground that they encouraged the workpeople

ɪpprentices in idleness. In return the players were never of ridiculing the citizens, and kept a particularly insulting :alled *London Cuckolds* for Lord Mayor's Day. Therefore, ugh Charles may have been playing for popularity in those , the Theatre Royal was no part of a *panis et circenses* ;. It was essentially an aristocratic institution where court society could enjoy current wit (and obscenity) and make ɪcquaintance of contemporary beauty, female parts now taken by women instead of boys. Indeed, it would not be ıuch to say that it was the theatre of the court coterie, and .t the only outsiders ever seen there were the lackeys in the y who were waiting to take their patrons home.

he plays performed at both Drury Lane and Lincoln's Inn were old Elizabethan stock pieces by Shakespeare, Beau- and Fletcher, Massinger, etc., which were more or less ɪbly divided between the two managements. Thus Killigrew *Othello* while Davenant took *Hamlet*, and so on. These plays reinforced by new efforts of Dryden, Wycherley, Congreve, Aphra Behn, Vanbrugh, Cibber, Farquhar and others. :ry was used to some extent, while the costumes were usually ɔff clothes given to the actors by the court.

hings went very merrily for a time. There was a topical and time brilliant new play every week, and the actors, for the :ime for a generation, felt sure of their living. The King and obles often attended in person, though, to be sure, their ɜst was more likely to be centred on the ladies in the boxes on the actors on the stage. The behaviour of the gallants, ,as a sore trial for the actors, who were considered, socially, :ing little better than servants, and who were, therefore, much at their mercy. However, the drama flourished in of these drawbacks, and came to such a pitch of perfection it bade fair to rival its former glorious outburst under beth. It all rested, of course, on a very insecure base—court ɪr; and before many years had passed an uncomfortable ;ht began to make itself felt. The nobles did not give the ɔrt they promised, while the more solid elements of the ıunity held aloof on account of the licentious plays and the ɪalous antics of actresses and gallants. Further, the Theatre l was burnt down in 1672, and the rebuilding, to designs by topher Wren, had saddled the company with debt. It was on a larger scale than the first theatre, and needed more ıs than ever to keep it going. The Duke's company were feeling the draught, and towards the end of Charles' reign wo companies united at Drury Lane.

y eliminating competition this eased things for a time, but ssence of the matter was that the theatre was now too big

for its immediate job. The court could not or would not fill it, and the middle classes looked askance. One trouble led to another, and internal strife broke out. A pushful attorney called Rich obtained control, but could not mend either the financial or the artistic fortunes. Betterton, the best actor they had, seceded, and, having obtained a patent of his own, took himself and several of the company to a new house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where they did so well that they very nearly extinguished their royal rival. Rich, however, was a pertinacious soul and held on grimly. A contemporary writer, Charles Gildon, tells us that he called in 'the Fiddle, the Voice, the Painter, and the Carpenter to help 'em: and what neither the Poet nor the Player could do, the Mechanic must do for him.' In justice to Rich it may be pointed out that he kept open in very difficult times. He is credited with introducing Italian opera to this country.

In 1708 Rich gave place to a triumvirate consisting of Cibber, Wilks and Booth, and, the times being more settled, the sun shone again. These men knew their business thoroughly and were all capable actors. They worked well in their triple harness, and did a great deal to stamp out the lewd customs that the Restoration had foisted upon the stage. They secured a royal order in 1711 forbidding anyone to go behind the scenes during a performance, and saw to it that nothing was acted 'contrary to religion and good manners.' Addison, Rowe, and Gay joined Cibber and Congreve in writing for audiences plays which were gradually becoming more 'popular' in type. The court of the period took little interest, and the citizens, becoming less Puritan, took more. The Restoration drama of manners began to change to the drama of sentiment. About this time other theatres began to spring up. Covent Garden, Haymarket, and Goodman's Fields began to rival Drury Lane in opera and pantomime as well as plays, but the times were good, and the Theatre Royal easily held its own. The management was excellent, and they held a trump card in the magnificent acting of Barton Booth, who became the talk of the town. There had been great actors before, but Booth was the first to have a popular 'attraction value' of his own apart from the plays in which he appeared.

Naturally the inevitable happened, and the management began to rely on the good actor to pull through a poor play. This policy holds good for a short time only, and when Booth retired in 1728 there was a slump. A dull period of about eighteen years set in, which was only relieved by another star—Macklin. The same year that Booth retired witnessed a great mistake by the managers. They turned down Gay's *Beggar's Opera*. A little later London was flocking to Lincoln's Inn Fields to see it, and the

other theatres, Drury Lane included, found that its success had temporarily killed serious opera.

In 1737 the famous 'Licensing Act' was passed, which was intended to close all theatres but Drury Lane and Covent Garden. It never quite managed this, but it did give these two houses a virtual monopoly of Shakespeare. This was a two-edged weapon, for it drove dramatists to the smaller houses, as they could not get their plays in at the classic theatres. The non-licensed theatres certainly had a hard struggle and were reduced to many shifts to keep open, but they won through finally. It was they who henceforward were to be the nurseries of English playwrights. In 1746 David Garrick started on his thirty years' course of glory, but, great actor and good manager as he was, he could not bring Drury Lane back to its old position as the only place in town where witty and up-to-date plays could be seen. He 'gave the public what it wanted,' and did it splendidly. He had a brilliant company which included Macklin and Peg Woffington in the early days, so it is not surprising that the 'Lane' became more than ever an actor's house. They mutilated Shakespeare, acted *Lear* with a happy ending, and staged a great deal of bombastic nonsense which only had value in so far as it allowed them to shine personally. Covent Garden was by this time well on its feet and a very serious rival. In 1750 an amusing duel was fought between the two houses. Covent Garden led off by announcing *Romeo and Juliet* for a certain date, only to be followed by Drury Lane announcing the same play for the same date. Neither would give way, and the productions had two simultaneous first nights. Drury Lane won by thirteen performances to twelve! Covent Garden also entered the field of pantomime, and attracted the public so much that Garrick had to play harlequin himself. It is on record that he did it very well.

After Garrick came Sheridan and *The School for Scandal* in 1777. Sheridan, although a brilliant playwright, was an indifferent manager, and, in spite of his own plays and the acting of Mrs. Siddons, his day closed in debts for himself and his theatre. In 1791 he thought fit to knock down the now dilapidated house and to rebuild it. Unfortunately he had not the good judgment to trust to his own splendid art to fill his coffers. He built the new theatre for spectacle, in an endeavour to make it 'more deserving royal countenance and the patronage of this great metropolis.' It was the era of the Industrial Revolution, and invention was in the air. On his opening night in 1794 he proudly exhibited a real iron curtain, which was ostentatiously struck with a hammer, and a lake of real water on the stage. The auditorium seated 3600 and, according to Mrs. Siddons, was 'a wilderness of a place.' It was so big that the acting, which had held up its

fortunes for so long, could neither be seen nor heard. Deterioration once more set in; Kemble, the manager, and Mrs. Siddons deserted it for Covent Garden, and the fortunes of the Theatre Royal touched bottom. It was burnt down in 1809, which was perhaps as well, as it enabled the proprietors to get rid of Sheridan and to rebuild the place on a more workable scale. The reopening took place in 1812, and the new building was, as far as the main exterior is concerned, the same theatre that stands to-day. It was half-way in size between Garrick's house and Sheridan's house, which was a move in the right direction, but it was still too big and none too good for seeing and hearing. The proprietors again had to fall back on scene display, and Lord Byron, who was one of them, complained about the dearth of plays suitable for the 'Lane.'

Edmund Kean revived affairs until 1819, although he had a hard fight with the huge auditorium, the critics complaining that they could not appreciate his delicate acting in such a place. For the next twenty years Elliston and later Bunn tried every means in their power to pull the people in. There is still preserved at Drury Lane a playbill of this period which never fails to give a severe shock to those who imagine that the past history of the Theatre Royal was one of classic dignity. The playbill is dated December 15, 1835, and invites the public to see an opera called *The Jewess*, and, judging by the relative sizes of the type, the chief attractions are the real suits of armour worn by the knights and the burning to death of the Jewess! Bunn also tried circuses and concerts, but retired heavily in debt in 1839. Macready then took over, and honourably did his best to elevate the drama that he loved. He lasted two years only, and then Bunn came back again, with no better luck than before. Anderson tried his hand after this, on the same lines as Macready, but he also was beaten in two years. He had the further mortification of seeing the theatre filled a little later by an 'American Equestrian Entertainment.' Chatterton was the next to act as mahout to the white elephant, and he retired minus 35,000*l*.

Then in 1879 a genius arose who diagnosed the trouble. The industrial era and free education had by this time provided a huge semi-educated audience who would take drama in little doses and stage tricks in big ones. Sir Augustus Harris therefore gave to the nation spectacular melodrama and pantomime on a scale which had never been dared before. He improved both the stage and auditorium, and was financially successful, as he deserved to be. His productions, though not immortal, were sincere attempts to give pleasure to the public in a clean and wholesome fashion, and the public responded nobly. After his retirement Mr. Arthur Collins carried on his tradition until 1924,

in which year Mr. Basil Dean tried to emulate Macready and lead the public taste rather than follow it. It was an interesting experiment and well worth doing, for by now the auditorium had been rebuilt in such a way that, large as it was, the lines of sight and the acoustics were very much kinder to the actor. They were not kind enough, however, to let the intimacies of ' London life ' get very far, and the experiment failed. Except for a charming revival of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* the following Christmas, Drury Lane was given over to spectacular American musical comedy. The first production of this type was *Rose-Marie*, and there can be no doubt that the public loved it. It ran for two whole years, and it is estimated that about 2,000,000 people paid to see it. Other musical comedies of the same kind have followed and, except for a brief interlude of pantomime last Christmas, are still in possession.

This history, brief and full of omissions as it is, is sufficient to show the transformation of Drury Lane from a little theatre of a coterie to a great theatre of the people. It was, of course, never subsidised, and since Charles' day has only very occasionally had the support of the monarch. The royal patent expired in 1843, and Drury Lane has now no advantage over other theatres, with which it competes on absolutely equal terms—except perhaps for its wealth of tradition and the affection it inspires in its servants.

PETER BAX.

THE HORRORS OF GOOD PLAIN COOKING

The writer of this was grounded in cooking in a hard school. If he blacked his fagmaster's toast or set before him porridge insufficiently cooked, he probably received seven strokes with a wire toasting fork; while an egg hard boiled or scrambled eggs spoilt by over-cooking meant at least ten. With the result that now, separated by many decades from corporal punishment, his blood runs cold to see careless cooking, and he would feel indescribably guilty if his hands were, through any accident, stained with any such crime. This discourse is particularly directed at the vast body of girls, either already housewives or soon to become such, who may be assumed still to be enthusiastic in the matter of housekeeping—girls who have, or will have, to run a small house with one to three servants or even with no servant at all.

The most important department of any establishment is the kitchen; and it may be said, almost without danger of contradiction, that in Great Britain this department is woefully inefficient. Cooks are regarded as creatures apart, whereas in most civilised countries every woman is a cook and takes pride in it. In France and in most European countries if a traveller is stranded in the most out-of-the-way spot at any awkward moment he is reasonably certain to be able to sit down in an incredibly short time to a quite delightful repast. There will be a perfect omelette, very probably preceded by a bowl of excellent soup from the standing stock-pot, very good bread and butter and a piece of local cheese, all helped down with a local wine and a cup of good coffee, though it must be confessed that coffee is not as invariably good as it used to be. If your car breaks down at the back of beyond in England, what hope have you? Quite possibly you may find literally nothing. If there is an inn there may be forthcoming a lump of tough cold beef, a stale loaf and a slab of American Cheddar: at the very best there may be fried eggs and bacon, the bacon almost certainly being impossibly nasty.

The raw materials of meals are generally good in England, and meals, from the dietetic point of view, are satisfactory. It is fashionable nowadays to talk and write about food values: we

have to consume proteins to build us up and to repair damage and carbohydrates and fats to give us heat and energy. We must on no account omit from a diet certain essential salts, iron, phosphorus and lime, and the merest child knows all about the necessity for stowing away vitamins A, B, C, and D. All this chemistry of food is quite new: in the childhood of most of us none of these mysteries had been unveiled, but, whether by accident or because they possessed some scientific knowledge which they did not talk about, our forbears have handed down to us meals—the ordinary meals of the ordinary Englishman—which chemically and scientifically leave very little to be desired, and left still less before bread was made of the now fashionable white flour. The stereotyped English breakfast—eggs with or without bacon, toast and butter and marmalade, coffee and milk and perhaps sugar—is scientifically almost a perfect meal, and to most people it is attractive and palatable. It is the later meals which all too often are almost entirely without attraction. Take this dinner: soup, boiled white fish and so-called white sauce, roast mutton and boiled potatoes, and a green vegetable, perhaps salad, and blancmange—*i.e.*, cornflour shape—with tinned apricots. Scores of thousands of middle-class English families have a dinner like this every day. Dietetically it is excellent; it is a meal on which heroes may be brought up and flourish. All its constituents are probably of the best; but it is deadly dull, and it is extravagant, because so much more might be made of the materials employed. The soup is either a vague 'thick' soup, stodgy, and a very bad foundation for a meal; or if it is of the genus called 'clear' it is opaque, very likely tasting of meat extract and with shining splashes of grease floating on it. The fish has been boiled (and the water thrown down the sink) and covered with a so-called white sauce, which only too often is made of milk and cornflour; and here perhaps one may be allowed to remark that any woman who makes white sauce in this horrible way ought to have fourteen strokes with a heavy wire toasting fork; it is one of the major culinary crimes.

The mutton is probably quite good, especially if it is New Zealand lamb—English mutton is almost certain not to have been properly hung. But the course will be spoiled by the potatoes and the cabbage, both boiled and served sodden with water. The salad is lettuce leaves sliced into narrow ribbons with a steel knife and drenched with vinegar to which a small amount of oil has been added. The sweet has been selected for no other reason than that it is easy to make.

It requires only a very little imagination and cooking sense to produce, from the elements of this deadly dinner, a meal which it would be a pleasure to anticipate and to set before even intelligent

friends; but alas, the middle classes of England are at the mercy of the Good Plain Cook, who has neither imagination, nor knowledge, nor cooking sense. She may be as good as gold; perhaps she supports a widowed mother and is the guardian angel of a flighty relative. She may be as plain as Cinderella's sisters, but cook she is not. This would not matter so much if she recognised her limitations and was anxious to improve; but nothing is further from her mind than the faintest idea that she is not perfection, and no wonder, because she is adulated and cajoled, the supply of her being less than the demand.

Imagine an ordinary household at the end of a terrible dinner. The plates that should have been hot were cold, and the courses have ascended, in a crescendo of culinary crime, from tepid greasy soup to a soufflé like porridge. The mild individual who calls himself the head of the house breaks out at last 'Araminta,' he says, 'this whole blessed dinner has been the absolute dog's body: you must set about that woman and tell her she's got to cook properly or go.' Araminta tactfully promises, and the following morning we see her entering the kitchen. In heaven her task would be very different to what it is here on earth. She would advance on the cook with a stern look, and would say as bold as you please, 'Cook, the dinner last night was the absolute dog's body: what about it?' Cook would reply with extreme humility that she quite agreed it could scarcely have been worse and that she was ready and willing to take her punishment. She would go down appropriately on the kitchen arm-chair, take a dozen with the toasting fork, and she would conclude by thanking her mistress for her moderation and promising to do her best in the future. That is what would happen in heaven; the mundane procedure is quite otherwise. Poor Araminta creeps into the kitchen, and after some ingratiating small talk, very coldly received, says in fear and trembling, 'Oh, and about dinner last night, Cook.' Cook, with the light of battle in her eye, demands whether she is to understand that there was anything wrong with last night's dinner, and is told, 'Oh no, Cook, dinner was very nice indeed, but Sir Marmaduke, when he was serving in Madras, got into the habit of liking soufflés fluffy and standing up, so we must try to have them like that instead of the ordinary way.' With that Araminta makes her escape, just pausing *en route* to offer Cook another hour on her night out.

There is probably no hope in connexion with the hardened good plain cook; but may one not hope that among the latest recruits, and more especially among the young women who for various reasons (which have nothing to do with cooking ability) will form the next generation of cooks, there may be a proportion

with some possibilities, if only a generation of mistresses can rise possessed of consummate tact, unlimited enthusiasm, determination, and some knowledge of cuisine and of planning meals? In the hope of this, one may be permitted to offer some suggestions.

To begin with, successful cooking is largely a matter of intelligence. There are born cooks, just as there are gardeners born with a green thumb, and born poets. They are generally housemaids discovered as cooks by accident, and shortly afterwards they marry the chauffeur, but an ordinarily intelligent person, after a small amount of instruction in the elements of cooking, can successfully accomplish quite a lot by means of recipes and cookery books. It is quite worth the while of any young housewife to lay herself out to accumulate a library of books dealing with cooking and the management of dinners, and also with wines. It would be invidious to single out cookery books, but mention may be made of one—namely, the large French edition of *Escoffier*, and it is a library in itself. Having acquired it, it should immediately be strongly bound—its original binding is vile—as its owner will always work it hard. Now for four general principles:

(1) To have everything down to the smallest detail, in the kitchen and in the dining-room, scrupulously clean. A modern *batterie de cuisine* is much easier to keep in order than the old-fashioned sets of cooking pots and pans, and there is no excuse whatever for any departure from perfection. Smears of ancient mustard on plates are very unpleasant, though perhaps the presence of long black hairs in soup is worse (black hairs always seem more repulsive in food than blonde), and at any risk such lapses should be the subject of a very severe reprimand.

(2) To insist that everything that should be hot is really hot, and what should be cold is really cold. There is nothing which gives such an immediately bad impression in a strange house as tepid soup in cold plates. Practically all food should be served either hot or cold, an exception being asparagus, which is at its best tepid; but many people will not agree with this.

(3) To see that frying is mostly done in *deep* fat or oil, and that use is made of a frying basket. What most Englishwomen mean by frying is frizzling in a frying pan, and they know no other way. If they have met or heard of the proper method they put it aside as extravagant because of the large amount of material required; but if one lot of fat is kept for fish, another for other things, and both are strained every time they are used, they last indefinitely with the addition of a little fresh fat now and again. The secrets of frying are to have plenty of fat, to

use it really boiling, and not to put too much material to be fried into the basket at one time.

(4) All meat that is cooked should be so treated that the outside surface is sealed in order to retain the juices and make it tender. In roasting (or baking as it really is) in an oven this is done by having the oven very hot to start with; in grilling, either real grilling on a gridiron or in a frying pan, the iron or pan should be hot, and as soon as the side nearest the fire has just turned colour the chop, or whatever it may be, is turned and the other side cooked, and finally turned again for the first side to cook. Most women cook one side and then turn the meat to cook the other, with the result that the juices evaporate and you get the usual dry, tough chop. All meat for cooking in small pieces, such as the inside of pies, should be dipped for a few seconds in boiling fat in a frying basket before being put into the piedish.

Coming to actual food, the young housewife will be wise if she endeavours to break away from the stereotyped stodgy form of English cooking, and the following suggestions will help her to do so.

Soups.—Always keep a stockpot going and use the stock for vegetable and other thick soups and sauces. Thick soups are useful for short meals, but at the best are a heavy foundation for a meal: for longer meals and on all party occasions a consommé is almost the only soup; and how seldom does one see a really well-prepared consommé except in a club or restaurant! There is, however, no difficulty in making consommé; it requires patience and intelligence, and when made it keeps—nothing gives such a cachet to a dinner as a properly made and properly flavoured clear soup.

Sauces.—The ordinary good plain cook has no idea whatever of sauces; and one can scarcely blame her, because until quite lately an English cookery book would allude to sauces at the end of the book as a difficult mystery, and give the impression that no one short of a *cordon bleu* should attempt them. Nothing is farther from the truth. Any Frenchwoman has the basic sauces at her fingers' ends, and would turn green with horror at the idea of pouring a disgusting mixture of milk and cornflour over any sort of food. Therefore let the budding young housewife teach herself to make the various white sauces—béchamel, velouté, and suprême. The base of all is a *roux*—that is, flour cooked in butter. Béchamel is a *roux* with milk added and perhaps a little stock, and velouté is a *roux* with stock added and perhaps a little milk. Suprême is a *roux* with cream added. All of them can be flavoured in any way desired, and, with the addition of other ingredients, are used to make the whole range

white sauces. Sauce mornay, for instance, is a béchamel or rême flavoured with cheese.

Could anything be simpler? Any intelligent girl can learn ıalf a morning more about white sauces than most so-called 's have ever heard of. Having done this, she will proceed tudy the range of sauces known as gravy sauces, of which type is sauce espagnole, and she will then be quite well ipped and in a position to make tactful suggestions to the ' in the kitchen. The whole theory and practice of sauce ing is clearly set forth in *Escoffier* and (perhaps in less detail) ıost French cookery books which include elementary cuisine.

Cheese.—In England not nearly enough use is made of cheese, a *au naturel* and in cooking. In recent years there has been e improvement as regards the former in the shape of cheeses mall round boxes divided into sections, but while these have variety to a course which used to consist almost entirely Cheddar—and American Cheddar at that—they do not go enough. Anyone within reach of London can quite easily ain the well-known small French cheeses such as Camembert, olochon, Brie, Port de Salut, and best of all Pont l'Evêque, ch is square and almost twice the size of a Camembert, which ather resembles, but is never so strong as a ripe Camembert, l has the virtue of remaining in condition for some days. large cheeses nothing can beat a perfect Wensleydale or a Cheshire, but these are only obtainable with the greatest iculty. A Stilton ripened in the old-fashioned way is excellent, such are a tiny fraction of the Stiltons on the market. ıyère, which should be fresh, can always be procured in ıdon, and Roquefort in most large towns. Those who like h a dreadful substance as Gorgonzola are fortunate, because re can scarcely be a village where it is not on sale. Thus, for se who take the trouble, there is no difficulty in providing a y satisfactory variety of cheeses as a course to finish a light ch, or as a meal with bread and butter, salad, and fruit. As ooking material, the good plain cook uses cheese—always ddar—for Welsh rarebit, cauliflower au gratin, and macaroni ese—all good dishes at their best, but, coming from her hands, ally dreadful. The Welsh rarebit is a stringy stick-jaw, and other two dishes are only too often made with cornflour and k with cheese added.

The best cheese beyond question for cheese dishes is Cheshire. ere is no comparison between toasted cheese or Welsh rarebit de with Cheshire and the same dishes made with any other ese. But these are not for everyone—they are beyond the estion of most of us, and it is as a flavouring material that ese has its most important place. Sauce mornay is the

typical cheese sauce, and an addition of this or of cheese otherwise treated to many made-up dishes—often just a mere *soupçon*—will turn a dull item of the menu into something extremely attractive. The cheeses that can be used in this way are Cheddar, Cheshire (not old) and Parmesan, the last used practically always on the top of a dish.

Where port is to be drunk after dinner or a vintage Bordeaux, it is almost a necessity to finish dinner with cheese or something flavoured with it. A strong cheese is not very suitable, and perhaps the most fitting and convenient finish is provided by biscuits made of puff pastry, well flavoured with grated Parmesan cheese and served hot.

Eggs.—There is no more valuable article of diet, and none more easily handled and quickly cooked, than the universal egg, but it is comparatively neglected, except boiled and fried, and very commonly murdered. The young housewife would do well to extend the use of eggs and to make herself thoroughly acquainted with the simple ways of cooking them, especially scrambled eggs and omelettes. These are both made of eggs and butter; the late Mrs. Beeton ought to have been tarred and feathered for laying down that milk should be added. The only reason that one can see for this most vicious instruction is that it makes the eggs and butter go farther. The good plain cook always puts in milk, and one can scarcely blame her when she can put her finger on *Mrs. Beeton* as her excuse.

Scrambled eggs are made in a small saucepan or a very small frying pan, and the eggs are broken into a cup, beaten sufficiently to mix the yolk and white, and no more. The butter is melted in the pan, and when just melted the egg mixture is poured in and pepper and salt added. The butter and egg mixture is stirred until it appears about three-quarters cooked and is then taken off the fire. If the scrambled eggs are only part of the dish of which fish or meat, with or without cheese or anything else, forms the remainder, these other materials are added immediately after pouring the egg on to the melted butter. The really important thing is to stop the cooking in time—*i.e.*, before the egg becomes, so to speak, hard-boiled. Up to a point an omelette goes the same way: the eggs are broken and lightly mixed, the butter is put into a small frying pan; and here the resemblance ceases. The butter is cooked until quite liquid with a blue smoke coming from it. The egg mixture is then poured in and allowed to settle for a moment. The outside is then turned over with a knife all the way round towards the centre, the pan being slightly rotated with the other hand. When the under part is just set and the upper part, at the centre, seems about half cooked, take the pan off the fire,

slide the omelette on to a hot dish, and as the centre goes over the edge of the pan turn the pan right over so as to fold the omelette in two. For an omelette aux fines herbes the seasoning and chopped herbs are added to the mixture before being put into the pan. When there is a filling, such as chopped kidneys, or asparagus or jam, this is put in after the mixture begins to set, and rum for an omelette *au rhum* is poured on at the moment before turning the omelette out. The secret of making an omelette is twofold—(1) the butter must be really boiling before the mixture goes into the pan; (2) the cooking must be stopped before the omelette appears to be finished, because the egg goes on setting after it is taken off the fire.

There are, of course, very many ways of cooking eggs—a chef in London lately demonstrated 150—but these elementary methods must suffice for this article. The household that can turn out a really good omelette is certainly a rarity. Mention must, however, just be made of the value of beaten white of egg, not only in soufflés, but for lightening many small dishes that might otherwise be just a trifle stodgy.

Vegetables.—English menus very seldom make sufficient use of vegetables as a separate course: in fact, except asparagus and occasionally artichokes, one scarcely ever sees a vegetable course. This is a great mistake; many vegetables are quite excellent in this way and help out a menu most usefully. Peas, broad beans, French beans, and carrots, all very young and served with butter, are delicious: endive, lettuce, and chicory, steamed and dressed with a gravy sauce, are nearly as good, and salsify fritters, if properly made, are always a success. From this selection a vegetable course can be found in most months of the year.

Salads are another neglected item. To the ordinary cook salad means lettuce cut up with a knife into ribbons and soaked in vinegar to which has been added a little oil. There is nothing better than lettuce as salad, but it should be made only of the heart, torn to pieces by hand, and an oil and vinegar dressing should be made thus: on a pinch of salt, a dab of made mustard, a dust of pepper, and a little sugar pour a tablespoonful of real olive oil: mix well and add about three-quarters of a teaspoonful of vinegar—or a dessertspoonful of white wine. For this and other culinary purposes the leavings of bottles should be kept; it matters little how stale they may be.

An uncommon and very attractive dressing for lettuce is melted butter; it should be melted quite liquid and the torn up lettuce tossed in it till every piece is covered with butter. For this, and indeed for any salad, the lettuce must be quite dry. Lettuce, however, delightful as it is, is only one of a multi-

tude of materials from which salads can be made: green t include endive, corn salad, mustard and cress (which ca grown very conveniently on a piece of wet blanket), water- (this can be grown in any garden); and salads other than g can be made from many vegetables and fruits, such as co potatoes, carrots, peas, beans of all sorts, beet and raw a and bananas, in various mixtures, and for these a cream sau perhaps more suitable than oil. An attractive way of se these is in small shapes, the constituents being bound wi stiff white sauce.

Made-up Dishes.—The last suggestion in the matter of a cooking for the budding housewife is to accumulate recipe ideas for using up left-over odds and ends of meat and fish. good plain cook will suggest rissoles for an end of meat- nothing less than about a pound is any good to her—and cakes for a pound or so of fish. These will be made of solid n squeezed together, egged and breadcrumbed, and fried, first side and then the other, in about a quarter inch of fat in a fr pan. The result is a hard top and bottom and a soft middle the whole thing greasy. Compare this with the following. use up, say, 2 or 3 ozs. of any meat or fish. For the meat, ch rather fine, scramble very lightly an egg or two mixed with meat, add a little thick white sauce, put the mixture into fireproof dishes, dust a *soupçon* of Parmesan or Cheshire on top, and put in a hot oven, or under the electric grill till brown on the top.

For the fish, take a little béchamel sauce, add the fish the yolks of a couple of eggs, stir well in, and then a grated cheese, and pepper and salt. When lightly cooked on the side of the fire. Beat the whites of the two eggs, a the mixture, pour into a suitable soufflé dish, and cook in a oven, not forgetting to tie a piece of paper round the s dish projecting above the top. Dishes such as these are economical, very easily and very quickly made, and are fit t before Brillat-Savarin himself.

So much for articles of food. Here are four rules, pe very obvious, to be observed in planning a menu:

(1) Avoid like the plague having two similar items in menu—*e.g.*, an omelette early and pancakes at the end; following the same idea, if there are two vegetables with the course, they should not both be boiled, as so very often hap Can anything be more unattractive and stodgy than, say, b mutton with boiled potatoes and cabbage?

(2) Always have a *pièce de résistance*, a sort of centre-pie the menu.

(3) Endeavour so to arrange any menu of five or more cc

that if any two items are missed there remains a well-balanced meal.

(4) It should be suitable to the occasion.

Only a gourmand wants a long, complicated dinner every day. A gourmet likes a simple meal as a rule. and reserves longer dinners for entertaining friends; though it must not be thought for a moment that a six or seven course meal means eating too much, or, indeed, eating more than with a short menu. The people who have the greatest feeling of 'fulness after meals' are those who dine off, say, beefsteak and trimmings, a pudding and some trifle like Welsh rarebit to fill in the cracks.

As this discourse is written primarily for young ladies, it will conclude with a menu which there is some reason to believe was suggested by a considerable number of them recently when taken out to dinner in London by their godfathers, who had asked them what they would like to eat:

Caviare	
Turtle Soup	Manzanilla
Sole Colbert	
Caneton à la Presse Salade	Clos de Vougeot (1911) or
Champignons Suprême	Montrachet (1921)
Mango Melba	Château Y'quem (1921)

It might be argued that the first three items are all fish; but both caviare and turtle soup are laws unto themselves. The mushrooms are a trifle rich to follow a duckling, but the guests of honour were of an age when too much consideration need not be paid to such trifles. Possibly they were disappointed at the absence of champagne, but their hosts would have explained to them that with the *pièce de résistance* nothing but Burgundy or Bordeaux was possible; and perhaps they would go so far as to add that at any time a good Burgundy or Bordeaux is worth all the champagne that was ever manufactured. The last course and its wine were specially designed for the occasion: there is no wine in the world with the marvellous flavour of Y'quem; but it is extravagantly sugary, and the only way to drink it is with a sweet. If the first sip is taken before the sweet the improvement after tasting the sweet is most apparent. This no doubt was the text for a lesson by many of the godfathers, providing a fitting and instructive end to a pleasant meal which wound up in a rather unusual manner.

In conclusion, a few words just to touch on the fringe of the subject of drink as a concomitant to food. Young ladies are begged to leave cocktails alone: they are pernicious and dangerous, and no cocktail that ever was shaken is a patch on a glass of good sherry. If a young person, however, *must* have a cocktail, let it

be a Parmacheene Belle—half gin, half orange juice with a few drops of grenadine.

At dinner, a clear soup demands sherry as its associate, and there is nothing as good as sherry to drink with lobster in any form. *Bisque homard*, for instance, is greatly improved by being made with sherry instead of the usual white wine. Oysters require stout. With fish no wine goes really well, but a light white wine assimilates best with this course. With the *pièce de résistance*, especially with game or mutton, a red Burgundy or Bordeaux is indicated. In the matter of these wines there is a world of difference between a vintage and a beverage wine, the latter being, as the French say, *pour le soif*. If one can run to it, a bottle of a good year of, say, Clos de Vougeot or Clos de Tart among the Burgundies, or of one of the 'big four' among Bordeaux wines, will make a *fête* of the dinner which it graces. If not, there are plenty of minor wines, red and white, from France, Spain, Portugal, and many other countries, which are wholesome, pleasant, and cheap. When one does order an expensive wine in a restaurant one owes it to oneself, and one's guest, to see that the real thing is produced, with the label of a reputable French bottler, or in the case of some of the Bordeaux wines, the château label. Among the most delicious wines for lunch or dinner, where a big red wine is considered too heavy, are the good white Burgundies, such as Chablis Moutonne, the Montrachets and Mersault. These add distinction to any meal; they are not quite as harmless as they appear.

This is no place to speak about vintage port, beyond that it is in its place after dinner, and must never, never be preceded by a savoury tasting of fish. By far its best precursor is something tasting of cheese. Champagne can apparently be drunk by those who like it at any time of the day or night, and with or without food.

Coffee.—Nothing that is set on an Englishman's table is so grossly maltreated as coffee, and there is nothing more easy to make.

Requirements: an earthernware jug holding about 1¼ pints; coffee freshly roasted and ground. There is a great choice of excellent coffees from many parts of the world, but a blend of Jamaica Blue Mountain and Bogota is very hard to beat.

Stand the jug on the hob or on a hot plate, and when *really* hot put in 2 ounces or more of coffee. When this also is hot pour over it a pint of boiling water and stir well. Wait two minutes and stir again. Wait two minutes and drop in either (*a*) the broken-up shell of an egg that has just been used, (*b*) a few drops of lemon juice, or (*c*) a teaspoonful of cold water. Leave for three minutes or longer, and pour carefully into another

ng without disturbing the grounds. Could anything be easier?

Finis.—If any young housewife has read this appeal and feels thereby moved to any degree of enthusiasm or to make any effort to break away from the bonds of Good Plain Cooking, good luck to her.

FRANCIS COLCHESTER-WEMYSS.

T. E. BROWN

T. E. Brown was born in May 1830; and whatever may be said about centenaries in general, in a case like his it may well be useful to observe the hundredth anniversary of his birth. Everyone knows his name; indeed, the perpetual attachment to it of his initials has almost the effect of a nickname, and suggests that it is not merely well known, but affectionately known. It is always T. E. Brown; who ever heard of Thomas Edward Brown? Yet his poetry as a whole occupies a somewhat ambiguous place in our literature. It can hardly be said to have admirers; if it has, they keep very quiet. It can hardly, in fact, be said to be known; for if it was known, surely it would be discussed: no poetry is more provocative of discussion than his, no one can read it without wanting to argue for or against his peculiar methods. Were they, or were they not, the right methods for his no less peculiar purposes? But one hears nothing of this. Two or three snatches of his lyrical verse are, indeed, echoed from one anthology to another; they are probably admired as much as they deserve, which is saying a good deal; though a dozen or a score equally fine might be disinterred from his collected poems. To know these lyrics in connexion with the rest of his work is to know a very important direction to which his poetry inclined; but to know these only is to know almost nothing of T. E. Brown the poet—that extraordinary personality which coined itself so richly, so lavishly, and withal so problematically, into poetry. Everyone knows his name; and from that the assumption is made that everyone knows his work. But it turns out that what everyone knows is *O Blackbird what a Boy you are* and *A Garden is a lovesome thing*; and these pieces, notable as they are, are the merest fraction of the art that was capable of *Bella Gorry* and *Dartmoor*. Two or three lyrics in the anthologies known to everyone; and the rest of his work (over 700 pages of it in the collected edition) practically ignored: not judged and found wanting, but simply neglected. That is what I call an ambiguous position for a poet to occupy; and the observation of his centenary may do something to clear it up, if only by drawing attention to the fact that Brown's peculiar character as a poet can never be

represented in the anthologies. His main achievement is the *Fo'c's'le Yarns*—more than 500 of the 700 odd pages of his collected poems; and certainly one of the most individual achievements in modern English poetry. This massive affair (for it is not a mere collection of tales—it has a decided unity as a whole) is not his finest work; but it is his greatest, and the one in which his peculiar genius could extend itself to the full. It is also probably responsible for the ambiguous position of Brown's poetry. For it appears that the collected edition has, in fact, sold pretty widely. But it is not at all difficult to imagine a well-disposed reader being so discouraged in his attempt to tackle the chief thing in the book, the *Fo'c's'le Yarns*, as to conclude that the anthologies would give him all the T. E. Brown he wanted. The discouraging quality of the principal section of Brown's poetry, however, can not only be accounted for—it can be surmounted; and anyone who has surmounted it is unlikely to be content with what the anthologies have to offer.

But, if his poetry is, on the whole, so neglected, how is it that his name is so well known? That, I think, is easily explained. A poet may owe a good deal more to his editor and publisher than he might care to admit. Brown published four volumes of poems during his lifetime, three of them chiefly taken up with instalments of his most ambitious but, as I suggest, in some ways unattractive work, the *Fo'c's'le Yarns*. These volumes won for him a certain reputation, but not enough to satisfy his friends, some of whom believed, as Brown himself once half-humorously suggested, that as a poet he was more of a 'major' than a 'minor.' Then came his death in 1897. A man who had been vice-principal of King William's College, Isle of Man, headmaster of the Crypt School, Gloucester, and for close on thirty years second master at Clifton, was naturally pretty well known; though his pupils' recollections of him were not always, it seems, agreeable. The publication of his *Letters* served not only as a memorial for those to whom he had been, at one time or another, a familiar figure, but brought into general notice the unusual charm of his many-sided character. It was very properly thought by his friends that the time had at last come to establish Brown's position as a poet. Accordingly, in 1900, the collected edition was issued, including, besides the contents of the four previous volumes, everything that could be rescued from the magazines, and a number of poems, many of them of invaluable quality, discovered in his notebooks. All this matter was put, under three main headings, into orderly arrangement by its pious and skilful editors—the chief advantage of which was the grouping together of all the lyrical poems in one section, and of all the *Fo'c's'le Yarns* in another; these latter thus appearing in the collected edition for the first time in the form

Brown had always intended them to assume—the form, namely, of a single composition, a large and highly complex design unifying an immense mass of mixed wealth into a characteristic world of its own, a rich but coherent version of the human comedy. The other section, 'Aspects and Characters,' is more of a miscellany, and the inclusion of several poems in it seems to be a little arbitrary: they might have gone more suitably among the lyrics. Still, it must be admitted that the collected poems were most skilfully edited; Brown's whole achievement as a poet could hardly have been more conveniently displayed, or more in accordance with its nature. It is, indeed, sometimes difficult to trace, in this arrangement, the chronology of his work. Some guide to this might have been given; but perhaps it was found impossible to work it out completely, and perhaps it is not of the first importance for the appreciation of the poet.

It may be said, then, that Brown's first effective appearance as a poet was in the collected edition. It could not have been a more effective appearance. It came at just the right time, and it certainly came in just the right form, to induce the public to accept Brown as a poet of very respectable standing. For, apart from the excellence of the editing, the book appeared in the familiar and honoured green-cloth livery of the great series of Complete Editions issued by the house of Macmillan. The format itself carried no inconsiderable authority. Only poets of undisputed reputation had hitherto appeared in that livery; it at once associated T. E. Brown with Wordsworth, Tennyson, and Matthew Arnold. Moreover, no less a critic than William Ernest Henley contributed an introduction to the book, in which he roundly told the public that it was only with such names as these that T. E. Brown could properly be associated. The effect was that the editors—Henley himself, H. F. Brown, and H. G. Dakyns—did indeed achieve their laudable aim, in so far as they induced the public to accept henceforth T. E. Brown as one of the important *names* of the late nineteenth century. The anthologists soon got hold of him, though, as usual, they showed the anthologists' sheep-like habit of jumping where their predecessors jumped. They at any rate made a few of his lyrics as well known, perhaps, as any poems in recent English literature. But not even Henley (except perhaps just at first) could persuade the public to possess itself of the main bulk of Brown's poetry, let alone to rank it where he ranked it.

Henley was determined that it should not be his fault if his old friend's work did not at last succeed as well as he had long thought it deserved to succeed. He saw his opportunity, and took it in his most masterly fashion. He pitched his praise of T. E. Brown—I will not say as high as he dared, for Henley was a critic

ared do anything—but just as high as it possibly could be
without seeming unreasonable. He was undoubtedly
Brown's merits shone so bright before him that he could
defects; the only obstacle to appreciation he could allow
e dialect, the Manx-English in which most of Brown's work
en; and Henley rightly maintained that this would prove
tacle at all to anyone willing to tackle it. Everything he
say about the nature of Brown's qualities is admirably
but his estimate of their worth is less happy. To exalt
he must disparage Browning; though there is really no
lance whatever between the two. But at any rate he leaves
o doubt where he would put Brown's whole achievement.
ı Baynes, the chief narrator of the *Fo'c's'le Yarns*, he says
s creator gave him 'a very great deal to say that none of
ureates as yet has had the wit to conceive.' It is not clear
ıe Laureates should be brought in; but this is no mere
ı, for he goes on specifically to mention Jonson, Words-
and Tennyson, and to add: 'Despite the magnificent
ements of these three . . . I hold that none is greater and
r than Brown's; that there are essentials in which all are
ın Brown's. That,' he goes on, 'is for the years to approve.'
hey have not approved it yet, and it may be doubted if they
ill. But Henley was a notable judge; and in thus sum-
p he had quite clearly in his mind what is certainly the case:
Brown deserves a verdict anything like so favourable as
must be by the *Fo'c's'le Yarns* that he will deserve it. It
by any means, a case of the *Fo'c's'le Yarns* or nothing.
himself would hardly overpraise some of the lyrics and
ve poems. But if Brown is ever to be reckoned a major
that much-misused word 'great' is ever to be his epithet,
be as the author of *Fo'c's'le Yarns*, as the creator of Tom
and Tom Baynes' world.

eed, this is sufficiently evident from the mere arrangement
vork in the collected poems. It was in the imposing series
e narratives that his genius expanded, and most diligently
ıted itself: here was his ambition, this is the work he would
ged by. The rest of his poems, one may almost say, are
s by the way': studies for the great work, as in some of
ıspects and Characters' (such as *In the Coach*, *Mater*
a, *The Christening*, *Peggy's Wedding*), or brief experi-
vacations from the main purpose (including the lyrics
everybody knows). Now it is precisely this fact, I believe,
ıs been, and perhaps will always be, the stumbling-block
vay of Brown's reputation. For, as I have said, the reader
tempts the *Fo'c's'le Yarns* for the first time may very well
mself baffled and dismayed; he is likely to conclude,

hastily but not unreasonably, that this great ambition of Brown's did in fact turn out a failure, and that consequently Brown himself was on the whole a failure as a poet; hence he is likely to be quite content that persons whose endurance is tougher than his own, men who make it their business to read unreadable poets, should go through Brown's 700 pages and pick out the plums; to be satisfied with the pieces in the anthologies, that is, the lyrics in which Brown (as it must then seem) somehow or other managed to strike out a sort of accidental excellence. This, I say, is not unreasonable. But the exercise of some patience will, sooner than one might expect, make the faults of the *Fo'c's'le Yarns* give way to their virtues; the real purpose will appear through the clumsiness of the medium; the reader will find, with delighted surprise, the whole series of the narratives impressing him as a work extraordinarily rich in substance, and very splendid in its spirit. And the shorter poems and lyrics will then seem to be nothing accidental, but highly concentrated essences of the genius which is everywhere in his work.

However, the faults of Brown's narrative verse, his main achievement, cannot be got over without frankly recognising their nature; a plea for patience with them is not likely to be effective unless it admits that they are about as serious as they could be. What fault could be more serious, in a writer of narrative verse, than inability to tell a story when he had a good one to tell, unless it were inability to perceive that the story he had to tell was not a good one? Both of these faults were Brown's, so long as Tom Baynes is the story-teller; that is to say, in all but two of the *Fo'c's'le Yarns*. It will not do to say that Brown *could* not tell a story; for in *Bella Gorry* he achieved, with perfect assurance, an 'exemplary novel.' But it is unmistakable that he *would* not, when Tom Baynes was his mouthpiece; for in these ten tales it was not the story he was intent on, but something altogether different. The story was the mere vehicle of this, like the grease in an ointment. But when a man offers to tell us a story, whatever his ultimate purpose may be in telling it, it is to the story that we first attend. If narrative is used as the vehicle of something else, obviously it fails in its purpose as a vehicle if it is not good narrative. Now the *Fo'c's'le Yarns* are anything but good narrative (except for those two appended stories already mentioned, which, however, are somewhat loosely attached to the scheme of the whole); and the faults are of such a kind that it may seem poor consolation to be told that they are deliberately committed. In the first place, never was a story-teller so long-winded as Tom Baynes. Taken simply for their narrative, his tales must surely seem bewildering, stunning, devastating, in their prolixity. For pages and pages nothing happens. Thus,

The Doctor is a story well over 4000 lines long—almost as long, that is to say, as half the *Æneid*, or the first five books of *Paradise Lost*. Just think what Virgil and Milton managed to say in such a space; and compare this with (as it must at first seem) the intolerable dilution of Brown's narrative! The comparison is very unfair, of course; I only wish to emphasise by it the scale on which Brown sinned against the art of narrative. For it takes 30 of the 115 pages of *The Doctor* for the first incident of the story to occur; and when it does occur it is quite a simple incident: the doctor falls in love, and the lady's father disapproves. When, at long last, the action of the story emerges, this incident is seen to be the beginning of a terribly subtle and complicated tragedy. But what a prodigious faith Brown calls for in his readers, so mercilessly, page after page, putting their natural interest off! Anyone who had the least concern for narrative as such would have had his readers in possession of this incident at the very beginning; Crabbe would have despatched the whole affair in less than a dozen, probably, of Brown's pages. Crabbe, assuredly, would not have missed the tragedy; but then Crabbe, with his stern concision, would never have thought of attempting what Brown was endeavouring to capture with his formidable prolixity. Still, the fact is glaring that Brown, in the person of Tom Baynes, is the worst story-teller in the world; it is scarce possible, at least, to imagine a worse. And there are ten of these stories!

What is going on, then, while Tom Baynes talks and talks and talks? What is this prolixity all about? Very often it seems to be prolixity for its own sake. Tom is fond of interrupting himself with superfluous exclamations—'All right! All right,' 'Of coorse! Of coorse!' and so on; indeed, the very structure of his syntax is apt to be exclamatory and incoherent, and repetition is his favourite figure—it is noticeable how often nothing less than a three-fold repetition will do for him. This is a fair specimen of a good deal of Tom's narrative art:

> But *the gel*—did you say? I know! I know!
> The gel! the gel! just so! just so!
> Gels! gels! gels! and sorrow and sin
> They're in everythin', in everythin'.
> And *what was she lek?* Yes! yes! I hear—
> *What was she lek?* aye—never fear!
> The little girl that was took from the wreck?
> What was she ek, eh? What was she lek?
> Is it what was she lek? Stop! stop a bit!—
> The way she'd stand, the way she'd sit!

and so on. At this rate, the 500 pages of the *Fo'c's'le Yarns* might seem easily accounted for.

This kind of writing may, in a ludicrous sort of way, be quite

effective. Here is the formal pietist agonising in his temptation:

> And—'God in Heaven!' he'd say, 'O God!
> I know Thy rod! I know Thy rod!
> She can't be mine! She can't be mine!
> O Nelly Quine! O Nelly Quine!
> But why? Oh, why? Isn' there a place
> In all the world, a little space,
> Nowhere? nowhere? a space, a spot—
> Oh, is there not? Oh, is there not?'

Rather too much of it! But this is Tom Baynes iron caricaturing the man he detests. It would have been a gooc keener if these inept repetitions had been less like whε reader has by this come to recognise as Tom's own habit of s but the real fault here is that these private ejaculations ha be shouted aloud in order that they may be overheard, and reported. The *Yarns* are full of equally clumsy improbabi which merely disguise that very considerable measure of (science Brown had to confer on Tom Baynes in order th might do his office as narrator. Such faults may perhaj accepted as inherent in Brown's plan: much more trouble to the reader, probably, is Tom's habit of altercation wit fo'c's'le audience—debates in which, since dialogue is not mitted, Tom himself has to repeat in italics every comı question, and objection put to him in order, as a rule, lenε to declare that it is not worth answering. These perr interruptions of the narrative, combined with the lavish int· tions and Tom's incurable idiosyncrasy of saying a thing t' three times over, so water the story down that there ε times seems nothing but a faint flavour of it left. Add tc that Tom can never resist the temptation of talking at about any topic the story may suggest, or of tumbling o his capacious memory, helter-skelter and hugger-mugger reminiscences that may be associated with it. Add, more what is even more exasperating, that, when at last he has wı himself up and got the story going, he frequently shows a sin inability to tell his audience distinctly what is happening that when an incident does occur, even an incident crucial t plot of the story, it is often by no means easy to make out e. what it is. Partly, this is due to the language—not because is any difficulty in the vocabulary, but because, as Tom Bε uses it, the primitive and scarcely articulate syntax of the d is extraordinarily incapable of clear and definite stateı But partly, too, this lack of definition in the sense is due to T peculiar mind—a mind revelling in undisciplined impressio delighting to circle round and round his topic, vividly darti

on this side and that with continual approximation, but disliking to put an end to this process by saying exactly and unmistakably what it is all about. He can be as downright as anyone could wish in reflection, especially in sardonic reflection, and remarkably direct in description; and nothing could be better than his expatiating impressionism for conveying the very life of some psychological situation, or the subtle and often perverse relation of character to behaviour. But it is not good for narrative, for the lucid delineation of events. And it was not intended to be that.

A moment ago I called all this exasperating. It is exasperating, so long as one reads the *Fo'c's'le Yarns* for what they ostensibly are. It ceases to be exasperating as soon as one perceives that their ostensible motive is very far from being their real motive. Their real motive is not to give us the stories, but to give the man who tells the stories. Other poets have allowed the manner of the narrative to hint at the character of the narrator. With Brown it is the other way round; it is rather the narrative that is hinted at through the unconscious self-portrayal of the narrator. Brown did not create Tom Baynes primarily as a story-teller. The stories provide the occasion for Tom's existence; but he exists for his own sake. And the moment that is understood, his abundance of speech ceases to be superabundance; all his vagaries, his repetitions and exclamations, his interruptions and digressions and altercations, become most skilfully managed strokes in portraying the spirit and maintaining the manner of his personality. And what a personality it is! The pervading quality in it is its amazing capacity for experience. It is not merely that a great many things (some of them very odd things) have happened to Tom Baynes, but that nothing seems ever to have happened without being stored up and somehow related with everything else that he has known. This rich and varied experience, animated by Tom's vivid energy, is what he prodigally pours out upon his listeners. If you are listening for the story he is professing to tell, this prodigality will seem what I called it just now—helter-skelter and hugger-mugger. But if it is simply for Tom Baynes you are listening, you will soon perceive how closely and finely all this is organised in Tom's personality: how strangely the absurd and the tragic illuminate each other in his mind, how perfectly compounded are moods and senses, whimsies and reflections, loves and hates, knowledge of men and women and knowledge of things by sea and land. Nay, even those outbursts of sentimentality and religiosity which, if we are attending to the story, often break into it in a manner scarce to be borne—on one occasion Tom holds up the course of events in order to conduct a service—become more than tolerable: unpleasant as they are in themselves, no one with any zest for

portraiture can fail to see how exquisitely *necessary* Brown has made them to the completion of Tom's character.

But is not 500 pages a little too much for the portrayal of a personality, even so rich a personality as Tom Baynes? The fact is, however, that when Tom Baynes gives us himself he gives us his world, a world thronged with vivid people and vivid things. And not *his* world only. Tom is a profoundly *typical* character—the crowded circle of his experience is not so much the property of a nature exceptionally endowed, as the representation, in terms of an eminently individual life, of the world of a whole community. Tom Baynes, in a word, stands for the folk of the Isle of Man. The poet, more than once, in his prefatory verses, warns us of this. His intention, we may say, was, by means of Tom's deeply imagined and splendidly substantiated character, to do for his beloved island what Burns had done for Scotland. It was what we should nowadays call regionalism. But it has none of the defects of regionalism. The interest in it is nothing provincial. It was simply that this Manx life was what Brown knew and loved and found significant. He objectified it in a typical Manxman—typical except for being furnished with all the gifts Nature had so generously bestowed on his creator. Tom's life represents the life of his people. But in doing so it represents life perpetually—often harshly, always courageously—in contact with actualities—the actualities that everyone can understand. As a Manxman Tom's world is founded on his intimate knowledge of the two industries which, of all others in the world, mean most to man and provide the richest experience—farming and sailing. But indeed, out of his own passion for every kind of actuality, T. E. Brown made the unwearying voice of Tom Baynes the instrument of a poetry which, more than any other modern work (except perhaps Mr. Wilfrid Gibson's), deserves to be called the poetry of the actual world—the common livelihood and the common holiday-making of mankind. And especially noticeable in this world of Tom Baynes' is the actuality of human nature. The characters he gives us are presented with penetrating intuition of the working of hearts and minds, yet always with a sense of the insoluble enigma in every personality. All his stories exist for the sake of a psychological situation, always at last irresistibly brought home; and some of these situations are strangely exciting and memorable. Of the *Fo'c's'le Yarns* it may truly be said that they deepen and enlarge one's sense of the possibilities of human nature.

But it need not be repeated that the proper way to read the *Yarns* is to allow the stories as such to take a secondary place in one's interest. When one does so, they have, in the whole effect, a very considerable value. Some of them are first rate as stories,

or would have been if they had been told by a poet whose main concern was the telling of them. Others are very decidedly second rate, as in *Job the White*, where the apparent tragedy of the conclusion has, since it is a merely irrational accident, no significance and is therefore no tragedy. But in itself the material in which the story is substantiated is always good. As a specimen of this, I quote a passage which will also serve to illustrate Brown's singular indifference, in the use of his material, to the art of narrative. The whole contrast of temperament in father and son is finely given by contrasting the methods of their seamanship.

> Now this lad was a very gentle sort,
> And hadn' none of the fiery spir't
> That was in the father—it's faithful he was,
> Faithful, and houldin' terrible fast
> To them he liked, and perseverin'
> Uncommon—Look at the either steerin'
> And you'd know the odds ; for Hughie was all
> For humourin' ; but the skipper would hawl
> On a wind no matter how it was blow'n',
> Just like a dog would be peelin' a bone,
> Greedy, you know, like a hungry dog,
> Greedy, suckin' his luff like grog.
> That's the way, and Hughie would look
> On the sea like a man would read in a book,
> Spellin' big spells, and gettin' them right,
> But the Captain would stand like sniffin' a fight
> Far off—he would—like challengin'
> Suspicious lck, like sayin'—' Now then !
> You're at it ! are ye ? Who'll strike first ?
> Come on, ould stockin' ! do your worst ! '

This is excellent in itself. But this contrast between father and son has absolutely no importance whatever in the story. It means nothing at all, as things turn out. But what is really extraordinary is that it might have meant a very great deal, if it had been made between the right persons. For the story is one of tragic antagonism between this captain and—not his son at all, but another captain. And it is exactly the kind of antagonism that is illustrated by this particular contrast in seamanship. Moreover, the tragic conclusion occurs precisely by reason of this very difference in seamanship; at the crisis of their relentless unspoken rivalry (superbly worked out in all its subtle reverberations by Tom Baynes' uncanny insight) the daring captain cracks on all sail once too often, and his luck deserts him just when he needs it most. As far as the art of narrative is concerned, there could hardly be a more flagrant waste of admirable material.

When all is said, Brown's indifference to the requirements of narrative must be allowed to be a most serious defect in the

Fo'c's'le Yarns, in spite of their extraordinary merits: we are left balancing many virtues against one heavy fault. In order to achieve his poetic purpose Brown adopted a poetic method which proves radically incompatible with that purpose. The method is one which, by its very nature, obtrudes itself on our attention; and its failure therefore also obtrudes itself. Once arouse the expectation of a story, and the continual putting off of the story's accomplishment cannot but produce a certain irritation, however notable the stuff may be to which the story is postponed. This is the price Brown (and his readers) must pay for his determination to make Tom Baynes, in the act of telling a story, a figure typical of the whole life of his people. When this problem no longer haunted him—when, as in the old 'pazon's' story, *Bella Gorry*, the narrator is a person who has no need to represent himself as typical of a whole community—Brown showed what he could do in the way of direct, forthright narrative. Once more the story is one leading up to a remarkable psychological situation—as remarkable as anything in the *Yarns*, which perhaps is almost as much as to say, as remarkable as anything anywhere. Certainly I cannot think of either poet or novelist who has more profoundly conceived the passion of motherhood than Brown has done here, or brought it to a stranger or more beautiful conclusion.

No one who has ever read it is likely to forget that final glimpse of Bella worshipping the beauty of her daughter. And, without any interruptions or divagations, the character of the teller is perfect in the manner of the telling—in his casual reference to Liverpool as 'that awful place,' for instance, or in the simple tact with which he describes the final scene of Bella caressing her naked daughter on the night before the wedding—'This Sybil clinging to this Venus'—and the unforgettable phrase he has for that mysterious act of adoration: 'Nursing the baby!' This surely must be reckoned one of the finest narrative poems in our literature.

The blank verse of *Bella Gorry* is something of a relief after the busy, rattling, and rather structureless octosyllables of Tom Baynes. But the purpose is clear enough in the use Brown makes of these octosyllables—we had better call them four-foot verses; for every possible liberty is taken with the number of the syllables. It is the same as the purpose in his use of dialect. This is not a dialect which can for a moment be compared with the noble language Burns had at his disposal; but it enables Brown once more to bring his poetry into contact with actuality—the racy, careless actuality of the language of everyday life. Just so the elastic metre of his four-foot lines is pulled out, compressed, twisted this way and that, in order to make the rhythm of the

verse represent as closely as possible the very tones and accents of living speech. It is not only Tom's mind we are to understand, but equally his voice we are to hear. The effect is often good, but perhaps as often decidedly awkward. The fixt metrical scheme would not tolerate some of the extreme modulations Brown tried to force on it. In two of the stories he experimented with a more irregular scheme; but without much success, except in snatches. This is the method, however, which he used with masterly success in the best of his lyrics. The language here is no longer dialect, but the full and noble range of literary English; yet it is literary English pregnant with the ever-varying intonation of *speech*. This is the result of the metre. It is not, as it is sometimes miscalled, 'free verse'; for the rhythm is persistently and definitely a formal rhythm. But instead of modulations being fitted into a scheme, the scheme is made to depend on the modulations. The secret of it is, in fact, that the natural cadences of speech are allowed to determine the length of the line. This sounds simple; but in execution it is apt to prove exceedingly difficult. Its supreme practitioner is Coventry Patmore in his odes; but T. E. Brown comes very near him: witness the two astonishing little lyrics called *The Bristol Channel*, charged with the very accent of spoken words:

> The sulky old gray brute!
> But when the sunset strokes him,
> Or twilight shadows coax him,
> He gets so silver-milky,
> He turns so soft and silky,
> He'd make a water-spaniel for King Knut.

> This sea was Lazarus, all day
> At Dives' gate he lay,
> And lapped the crumbs.
> Night comes;
> The beggar dies—
> Forthwith the Channel, coast to coast,
> Is Abraham's bosom; and the beggar lies
> A lovely ghost.

This power of making subtly elaborate language move with the apparent freedom of natural speech is the most striking thing in the technique of Brown's lyrical verse; and whenever he uses this power he exerts on any sensitive ear an extraordinary fascination, however slight the topic (' I bended unto me a bough of May,' for instance). But his lyrical topics are as a rule far from slight. He can put into lyrical form the most audacious philosophising, as in *Dartmoor: Sunset at Chagford*; he can make simple language thrill with personal anguish transmuted into

beauty, as in the poems which directly express his great bereavement, or in those re-echoings of it which sound so keenly in other contexts :

> Not less to us the things which most we cherish
> Fade from our eyes, and perish, perish, perish :

Tom Baynes' habit of three-fold repetition for once made genuinely poignant ! And again and again his mystical sense of the closeness to him of the divine in all the actuality of life (whence his passion for actuality) seizes on his reader's mind in some unexpected image or in some phrase of startling simplicity. With the extraordinary wealth of substance he gives us in the *Fo'c's'le Yarns*, along with, to balance their defects of art, the exquisite accomplishment and lucid depth of his lyrics, T. E. Brown's whole achievement as a poet must ultimately make its way to a very high place indeed in the literature of the nineteenth century.

LASCELLES ABERCROMBIE.

ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR

Some Personal Reminiscences

The first time I ever saw Arthur Balfour was in 1886 or 1887. I had been invited to dine with an old friend, Mr. Godfrey Webb, famous as a wit and a charming host. He used to give small dinners in his Victoria Street flat of just three or four people, but those people were always carefully chosen. Arthur Balfour was already a legendary social figure in my imagination—a detached, fascinating, unapproachable being, of his political career, beyond the fact that he was Chief Secretary for Ireland I knew little. Mr. Webb had been asked by A. J. B. as he was always called, to join a little party in the House of Commons, and had replied that he could not as he had a party of his own, upon which Arthur Balfour asked him to bring his guests too, and that is how I came to be included. We dined in the noisy House of Commons restaurant downstairs, and I can only remember, besides Godfrey Webb himself, three people—George Curzon, Margot Tennant, and our host Arthur Balfour.

After dinner we went up to his big private room, and, though he had to leave us for a debate, we sat on round the fire absorbed in one of those eager discussions about poetry or fiction or biography that certain kinds of people always indulge in, and which led at that time to the nickname of 'Souls' for a particular small circle of friends, among them some distinguished men. The poems of Tennyson, and especially *Maud*, were the theme, and I well remember the enthusiasm with which George Curzon declaimed :

> All night have the roses heard
> The flute violin bassoon.

The poetry discussion did not amuse Arthur Balfour, nor did he appreciate the love poems in *Maud* when he returned to us, and he lolled in his chair and took no part.

Meeting him was always an adventure : one suffered trepidation, due to the intense desire to amuse and interest him felt by almost everybody. I think most people, too, had the deeper longing to stand well in his eyes, for, delightful as it was to make him laugh—and no one ever laughed with more utter abandon-

ment—it was still more wonderful to make him turn rour and look you in the face with the remark, 'Now that real interests me very much, because . . .'; and the enchant listener might be in for a devastating criticism, or an enthrallii monologue. The one fatal note was insincerity; he co tolerate, indeed enjoy, simplicity or stupidity, but pretentio insincerity had short shrift. An instance of this is the famo story of his treatment of Frank Harris at a dinner when th brilliant but aggressive talker suddenly announced in a loud voic 'All the evils of the world are due to Christianity and journalism I can see Arthur Balfour look up and hear him say in a quiet, lev voice, 'Christianity of course, but why journalism?'

It was not, however, till I married perhaps his greatest frien Alfred Lyttelton, and grew intimate with many members of h family, that I received the freedom of his inner circle and saw hi constantly. I was not among those who talked to him abo their private affairs and difficulties; I was too shy of him in tho days for that. I never corresponded with him either, but it happened that more than once I was with him in hours of angui and suspense, as well as in some of joy and relief, and it was a experience not only never to be forgotten, but one which became very part of existence. Once in early days I said to a near frier of his, 'Why doesn't he sometimes express his sympathy; he's cold?' 'You wouldn't say that if he'd ever been close to you sorrow,' replied his friend, and indeed, long before such a experience came to me, I had realised the deeply emotion character of his temperament. The real truth was that he fe things too intensely and he was afraid of any form of expression afraid, that is, of loss of control. You might almost say that th more moved he was, the less he showed it, and he was in reali very easily moved about comparatively small things. I rememb when my husband was beaten at tennis by Sir Edward Gr (afterwards Lord Grey), and so lost the Amateur Tennis Champio ship which he had held for some years, I was sitting in the galle beside Arthur Balfour, and, being very near tears myself, sa something silly. He looked at his watch, snapped the case, ar in an aggressively cheerful voice answered, 'Oh, no, I wor admit that; it doesn't matter in the least; Alfred isn't practice, that's all'; and I realised that he was in much the san condition as myself. In deeper, more serious moments he wou either remain absolutely silent, sunk in a kind of muffled depre sion, or be so overcome that it was necessary to help him dow to a more ordinary level. Like others endowed with an acute sensitive nature, he shrank from the sight or sound of pain a distress even to the point of refusing to read any book whi ended badly, or of seeing any tragedy on the stage. It was

weakness, of course, but not a callousness. Perhaps some of his curious ignorance of the public, and of what the average man or woman might be thinking or feeling, was due to his constant aversion from the spectacle of sorrow and despair. He possessed a belief in the greatness and dignity of life and its ultimate meaning, and an unswerving conviction of survival, held like Socrates up to the moment of drinking the hemlock. If he could have walked into the shadows side by side with his friends, he might perhaps have understood the sufferings of the miserable and the poor better than he did; but he dared not hazard a disintegration of calm.

We are apt in our present period to feel that the most important equipment for any statesman is a desire to remedy the position of the unfortunate; there are, indeed, many who would obliterate admiration of any man whose nature was not obsessed by pity; but support, sympathy, encouragement—they, too, are needed by the fortunate possessors of talent and intellect, and even enthusiasm. Arthur Balfour gave of these, without stint or reserve, all his life, both to young and old. To go to him with a new idea, a project, a discovery, even a crude theory, was to know the delight of attention and interest given by a supremely quick, adaptable, and penetrating mind, which was never for a moment hampered by even the faintest consideration of his own relation to the subject. This is so rare a quality that its presence may often be recognised in a man's character while it is overlooked in his mind; what Mr. Asquith called 'intellectual hospitality' was one of Arthur Balfour's principal gifts, and enabled him all through his life to keep abreast of the latest developments in thought and science. It was never the personal aspect which affected him, but the thing in itself, not the fact that a friend brought an idea to him, but the idea itself, which called forth his championship, though no one ever took a greater pride than he in the accomplishments of his friends. Just as he would give his thought freely to any project which seemed to him worth while, not thinking either of recognition or gratitude, but merely of being useful, so, too, he would quite naturally expect the same spirit in others. It was this standard, almost unconsciously held, which gave him his surprising severity in judgment.

I once heard a man say of him that he was the most implacable being he had ever met. Implacable I think he was when he considered that another had failed in tolerance or generosity, or public spirit; but, as to a personal injury, the saying is probably authentic which I saw quoted in a paper, 'I never forgive, but I always forget.'

He had one of the most defective memories which ever cursed a great man. Certain periods of English history he was so familiar with that even he could remember the details, but in matters

which affected his own person or life (as when on his eighti birthday he spoke in public of his having been Home Secreta an office he had never held) it is impossible to exaggerate his different blankness. One would think an accurate memory an dispensable weapon for a great debater, but he fought all his ma battles without it, and it hardly seemed to hamper him. This partly because his great strength in dialectics lay, not so much i detailed and devastating exposure of statements, but in a pierc and often deadly dissection of his opponent's reasoning or his ar ment. This form of debate seemed to come very easily to h and his power of analysis, like the rapid illumination of lightni disclosed a hidden landscape. His wit and his humour mad wonderful combination with his occasional felicity of epigra matic phrase. I say occasional, because as a speech-maker he not nearly up to the level of his own intellect. His delivery apt to be hesitating and bad; he was for ever qualifying statements; his whole method gave an effect of coldness a dispassionate reason, incapable of firing the enthusiasm o popular audience. 'Peroration!' he once exclaimed to a frie who asked him how he composed them. 'I say what I've got say and sit down at the end of the first grammatical senten

Arthur Balfour could not lead a forlorn hope which needed dazzled acquiescence of his followers, but he might turn a forl hope into a complete victory if thought, courage, resolution, a resource could be brought to bear on a situation from his writi table or in personal consultation. And not once but many tir in his life he did something akin to this, and moulded the shape history. His gift was, not to inspire men to great deeds by spee but to give them the opportunity for great service by his penetr ing judgment and his powerful influence. It is perhaps true say that politics as such were never his chief pre-occupation. sister the Dowager Lady Raleigh told me the other day that remembers walking late at night with him from the House Commons at the beginning of his career as a member of Government, when he remarked casually, 'I don't believ really care for politics.' She said she could not credit th 'Well, I'll tell you why I don't believe I do,' he said; 'I ne think of politics in bed!' His thoughts were probably philosophy or some form of speculation, or on the princip governing certain developments, rather than on their polit significance. I believe that he really enjoyed writing much m than speaking, or even debating. A passion for exact statem which he shared with many members of his family is not m gratified in public argument. His style in writing was pure a limpid, and it is strange to remember with what strenuous lab it was done. He had no flowing pen: everything was writ

and rewritten and recast; no slovenly phrase or careless epithet was ever passed by him. I possess among my papers the manuscript of a short letter to the *National Review* which he wrote in reply to a purposely provocative article on golf by Alfred Lyttelton called 'Is Golf a First-class Game.' Arthur Balfour was really stung into rejoinder in defence of the Scottish game. The editorship of the *National Review* had just been assumed by our friend Leo Maxse, and the golf article had been written partly at his suggestion. When it brought into action the heavy gun of Arthur Balfour it was a triumph for the new director. We were staying at Whittingehame at the time, and I was used as a copyist, so that I know well how every phrase and every epithet was struggled over. The manuscript—my copy of his first draft—is covered by erasures and additions in Arthur Balfour's hand. Many years after he asked me to find this forgotten letter, as he had promised to meet Leo Maxse in some public debate arranged for a charity, the subject being 'Does Golf do more Good than Harm?' Leo Maxse seems to have objected to golf as being a game for the middle-aged. Lord Balfour, in reply, said, 'The mere fact that international financiers can play golf and improve their figures, even if they attain no other advantage, is not a sufficient reason for criticising a game which requires all that Nature has given us of muscular adaptation, accuracy of eye and of judgment, delicacy of touch, and of temper.' Golf was indeed a very serious matter at Whittingehame, and depression would fall on some menbers of the family if shots had been foozled or balls sliced. I can remember Mr. Balfour saying gloomily, 'The worst disaster that can befall an unmarried man has fallen on me; I have been off my drive for three weeks.'

Gerald Balfour, his wife Lady Betty, and their children, Eustace Balfour, his wife Lady Frances, and their children, always spent several months of the year at Whittingehame, Arthur Balfour's Scottish home. He loved to be surrounded by his horde of nephews and nieces; he took the deepest interest in their amusements, even their more serious efforts at writing or drawing or botany or chemistry; he suffered no sentimentality, no hero worship, and appeared to be entirely unconscious of the love and reverence which wrapped him round. Everyone tried to earn his approval or appreciation, thus anything that happened had a double value, its own, and its value as a story to be told at luncheon or dinner for the host; a guest inevitably fell into the prevailing custom of treasuring up each amusing incident or piece of news for the delectation of this astonishingly responsive listener.

But no story was allowed which held an element of sadness or possible disaster. There was an occasion when one or two of

us were involved in a motor accident. Arthur Balfour had course, been one of the very first people to invest in a car, a young man employed in the stables, a son of Brett, old coachman, had been in training as a second chauffeur. day came when Lady Frances and I were allowed to go i North Berwick piloted by this young man. On the box bes him sat Mrs. Jane Mercer, the wife of the grieve of the home fa taking advantage of a lift to see her boy in hospital. We l hardly got out of the gates, when a violent skid sent us across road. I confess to having felt rather nervous; possibly if I h had more experience I should have been even more so—the was so powerful, the boy seemed to have so little control. Lady Frances's courage was undaunted. She said to me fierce 'Whatever we do we must not break his nerve; we must go c and on we went. All was well in North Berwick; we did errands, Mrs. Mercer did hers, and we turned homewards. Th going down a steepish hill after passing Tantallon Castle th was another skid and a wrench, and we mounted on a bank w a sickening bump. The figure of Mrs. Mercer flew over our hea looking, as I recognised even at that moment, like a horizon figure of Victory. She landed on her head in a field, and lay st bleeding from some bad cuts. It was raining, and we were seve miles from home. This is not really the part of the story for wh I am telling it, but I must just say that the heroic Mrs. Mer could murmur nothing but, 'Thank God it wasn't you, my lac many times. We got a passing baker's cart to fetch a doctor, helped the poor woman to a lodge near by, and we despatched dejected chauffeur on foot to Whittingehame and told him to se a good old-fashioned horse brougham to fetch us home. I ha no doubt Arthur Balfour had been anxious; it was dark, it w late, and we were out in this new machine with a very inexpe enced driver, whom, if I remember right, he had not himself pass as sufficiently trained to drive the car. So the scene was set. entered the long library feeling like minor heroines: the washi and sewing up of poor Mrs. Mercer's head wounds, performed the light of a small kerosene lamp which I held, had been upsetting experience, and there were other incidents, adventur and humours which we were eager to relate. But Arthur Balfo sitting by the fire with a book in his lap, merely looked up a in a cross sort of voice said, 'Go and wash; go and wash.' this chilling reception one could measure his dislike of the wh business, and the fears he had entertained. Mrs. Mercer got qu well in time, and her condition was reported to him constant but I do not think we were ever allowed a long recital of affair, which in any lesser event he would have enjoyed do to the minutest detail.

All sorts of distinguished men and women came to Whittingehame—politicians, scientific men, writers, professors, 'fashionables,' golfers, a constantly shifting kaleidoscope during the autumn and early winter. Staying in the house was always a delightful experience, whether there were other visitors or not, for the members of the family itself were most interesting and stimulating companions.

In the morning our host never appeared. All his life he had his breakfast in bed and got through some of his work there in quiet, and he devoted his whole morning when out of office to work in his own library—a big dignified room lined with his own special books. For luncheon he would emerge ready for talk, and there was an unbreakable rule: no one sitting at the table was allowed to speak in a low tone to his or her neighbour; the talk was always vociferously general. Lady Frances would scowl if by chance one had lapsed for a moment. It was therefore no special advantage to be placed next the host, for wherever you might be you were eagerly spurred on to be provocative or impertinent or amusing, according to mood and opportunity. It was a most entertaining game; to make Arthur Balfour laugh immoderately or argue intensely was like receiving a crown of laurels, not merely because of the joy of the moment, but because of the subsequent congratulations.

Sometimes there were fierce dialectical duels between our host, Mr. Gerald Balfour, and some distinguished man or other, to which we would all listen, and receive a violent reminder from Lady Frances if we inadvertently interrupted; sometimes there would be anecdotes earning the abandonment to laughter, for which we all played. I shall never forget one success I had of a childish kind when I told him about the adventure of a mutual friend with a tramp in a third-class railway carriage. The story is not worth repeating here; it shall be like the grouse in the gun-room, but it made Arthur Balfour laugh till the tears ran down his cheeks, and he almost disappeared under the table. I have never forgotten it, because I was acclaimed afterwards as if I had won the principal race in the Olympic Games.

Miss Alice Balfour, our hostess, had all the labour and trouble of running this huge establishment for her brother, and the task, considering the mixture of young and old, all with strongly marked individualities, must often have been a difficult one. If our host wanted to have a quiet talk with anybody he would invite them to come to his room: among his women friends who enjoyed this privilege were the present Lady Weymss, Lady Desborough, and Lady Salisbury, and no doubt there were others. I was invited thus once when I was still rather shy of him, and I was never so frightened in my life. It makes me smile now to

think of it, but he really was rather formidable. It was nec nothing; of course, to be afraid of him was fatal. I remem hearing a woman now dead say that there was no secret in private life or in that of her friends which she would not se up to prevent a pause when *tête-à-tête* with him.

As a guest one could not but derive a certain amusem from the continual hubbub of service for his pleasure and amu ment which went on round him. He always appeared blan unconscious of it. It would have utterly ruined most men, h made them selfish, conceited, and inconsiderate. The fact t it did not damage him is only another proof of the peculiar violability of his character, and if he had been a different k of man he would probably never have been offered this domes devotion. He was spared the discipline of the mechani difficulties of life, and so perhaps was too little aware of them

Music was always one of his greatest pleasures; he written supremely well about certain composers, and he ne lost his delight in the kind of music which appealed most to h Naturally he was among the earliest to possess a mechani piano-player. The first one he ever came across I discovered i shop at Leeds. We had made a little party to attend the festi several of us engaging lodgings, and of the company were Artl Balfour, Alfred and Lady Elcho, as she then was. We were v strenuous over the music, missing no concerts, and I had some di culty in getting him to come to the shop and hear a 'Welt Mignc perform. Alfred and I, rather staggered by the price, decided tl we should get tired of hearing, say, Paderewski or Mark Hambo play the same pieces precisely the same way over and over aga How wrong we were; it was not long before Miss Balfour fou for her brother another player, the 'Dea,' which continued give him intense pleasure down to his last weeks at Whittin hame. The gramaphone, too, was very soon a friend and co panion, and he listened to music on it, his favourite Hanc within a day of his death. Music, moreover, at Whittingehame not displace brilliant and amusing talk, our host often standi with his back to the fireplace, his legs a little apart, not do nating the conversation so much as permeating it: one co have listened for hours.

Whittingehame is a very beautiful place; the policies finely timbered, the glen quivers with the life and light of a bro stream, the sea gleams on the horizon. He loved it all, he to great pride in it, he shared it with the whole of his family. Ev detail about the farms, or the shooting or the forestry brou to him, received his most earnest attention, although he w unable, amid the continuous pressure of public work, actually manage his estates. If philosophy had not been the overmasteri

passion of his intellect, he could never have accomplished his two or three books. He would write at all sorts of odd moments. We were staying with the vicar of Leeds (afterwards Bishop Talbot) and his wife, my husband's sister Lavinia, both intimate friends of his, for another Leeds Festival, and I can see him sitting at a rickety tea table in the common sitting room, full of people, working at the manuscript of his *Foundations of Belief*. In the train, too, he would pull out a manuscript and browse over it, adding a sentence here and there. To the end of his days praise and appreciation of something he had written was a greater delight to him than most of the tributes to his public life: he felt instinctively, perhaps, that thought is a creative principle and the very root of growth, and it was the search for understanding which possessed him.

God make my brooding mind a rift
Through which a meaning gleams.

I often thought of these lines of Masefield's when I heard him talk.

I cannot pass from these days without a word about the charming relationship which developed between their uncle and his nephews and nieces. Perhaps the two who were nearest to him were 'Baffy,' now Mrs. Dugdale, and Joan, now Mrs. Lascelles, both daughters of Lady Frances, but one cannot expose and analyse these sort of intimacies in the lifetime of people, though afterwards there is often none left who could do so. It was not only the girls whose adventures and fates interested him: there was his eldest nephew Frank and his heir 'Ral,' now Lord Treprain, and Oswald, Lady Frances's youngest son; all of them were in his constellation of happy stars.

I have seen it stated that Arthur Balfour's great fault as a statesman was the difficulty he found in taking decisions. A clever doctor once said to me that the strongest characters were not those who made up their minds quickly and then never deviated, but belonged to those people who kept their minds open and took no final decision until it was absolutely necessary. This was the kind of strength possessed by Arthur Balfour, and it was often mistaken for weakness; his dilatoriness was due more to his fastidious and critical mind than to any failure of his ultimate will: given the necessary emergency, and no one could act more swiftly or more vigorously.

I doubt, indeed, if any statesman has ever taken a larger number of fateful decisions for his country—the 'black week' in the Boer War when he sent out Roberts, for example—and some of the most important developments occurred in the last ten years of his life, after he had resigned the leadership of his party. One has only to mention the Washington Conference in 1922, the Balfour Declaration about Palestine, and the handling

of the 1926 Imperial Conference, when the status of the Domin was given shape, to say nothing of the establishment of Civil Research Committee, which was in the main due to initiative. In 1926 he was already nearly seventy-seven was at a party given by General Herzog when I heard enthusi comments on his chairmanship of the Committee on Constituti Relations in the Empire. It was Mr. Amery, then Secretar the Colonies, who then told me that it was a wonderful feat, in fact, said very much what he wrote in a letter to *The T* published after Lord Balfour's death on March 22, 1930:

> If we arrived at a unanimous conclusion on matters of immense c quence to the whole future of the Empire, it was due in no small me to our chairman's unique authority, to his clear perception of the i involved, his quickness to find ways round difficult corners, his unf charm. But it was due even more to his unwavering conviction tha future unity of the Empire, in which he passionately believed, could be maintained on the basis of unquestioned equality of status and righ between its partner members.

I soon came across Lord Balfour himself at the party, stan beside one or two people and looking rather tired. I shall n forget his reception of my report of the praise I had heard f more than one. His delight was very characteristic of his esse modesty, and in a delightful boyish way he asked me to pic anything about the matter I could, for he said, 'You will much more than I ever shall.' With some people this m have been a symptom of doubt as to whether he had helpe the really right decision; with him it was merely a human plea in the praise and approbation of his fellows. I should lik quote the concluding sentences of Mr. Amery's letter:

> It was because they felt that he was completely at one with them o fundamental principle, and not with hidden reserves, paying mere li vice to it, that the Dominion representatives, of every school of tho were willing so largely to be guided by him and to accept his draftin would only quote one instance. When, after a week of intimate immensely interesting dialectical discussion, Lord Balfour had broug to agreement on the famous sentence embodying the definition o British Empire, I suggested to him as we broke up that such a sen should not be left to stand by itself, but should be fitted into the ge reasoned framework of our report. Next morning he summone Maurice Hankey and myself and showed us a brilliantly written mem dum which he had drafted as soon as he got home, justifying the E as a heritage of enduring value to its peoples, into which the dry diale definition fell into its proper place, and from which it derived life a fuller meaning. A day or two later this memorandum was adopted b Committee without the alteration of a single word and now figures a opening page and a half of the report.

I was in Canada this year, and heard many references to the momentous guidance given at a critical moment.

As for the Balfour Declaration, opinions, of course, differ about the wisdom or unwisdom of his policy. When my husband was Secretary for the Colonies he became deeply interested in Zionism, and inherited the idea from Mr. Joseph Chamberlain that a possible solution might be the assignment of a piece of territory in Africa. I think a definite project was formulated. But the Zionists would have none of it. What Lord Balfour did was to recognise the strength of the bond with Palestine; I heard a leader among them once express his emotion at being able at last to welcome a distinguished visitor on the soil of his own country; for centuries this had not been possible. Time alone will show how far this Declaration was prescient and displayed the highest imaginative power. I was witness of the extraordinary outburst of gratitude and appreciation evoked by his death among Jews from every quarter of the world, and if I had not already been a believer in the possibility of a national home for that race the perusal of these glowing messages would have made me one.

I must bring these random reminiscences to an end. Many people have written appreciations of Arthur Balfour's character and his genius, and many have made critical studies of his career; there will be a large crop of historical essays and short sketches, to say nothing of the memoir on which he was at work when illness overcame him, and which perhaps may be published as a fragment, and the big official biography certain to be placed in very competent hands. It is impossible to give an adequate picture of this unique personality. One can only light up here and there little corners of his life—catch him on the stairs, as it were—and record the immediate impression. And at the end of these scribblings I feel I have said nothing which will recall the instant radiation of the atmosphere the moment he entered a room, the sense that everything in life was suddenly worth while, that you must bring your best, be at your most vital, that you must not be heavy or dull or pompous, that everything natural and human interested and amused him, and that pretensiousness was anathema—all these confused feelings assaulted you when you saw his long form enter a room and heard the clear full tones of his voice. Constantly he took no notice whatever of his intimates—in the way, I mean, of formal greetings; I grew to understand that for Arthur Balfour not even to shake hands with you usually meant that he accepted your presence as part of his equipment. If you were next him at a dinner party you had to work for your reward; he rarely started topics, or asked questions, but you always had your reward if you earned it. In the last year or

two of his life it was different: he greeted his friends with delightful warmth. The springs of his deepest feelings were released, and it was wonderful to watch the fundamental enthusiasms and aspirations of his being come up to the surface, for these emotions, drowned before in the full stream of his life, betrayed the quality of his greatness. He cared passionately for the land of his birth, Scotland, and quite as passionately for England, to whose historical past he was intimately linked through his mother Lady Blanche, sister of the great Minister of Queen Victoria, Lord Salisbury. Tell him something that a man or woman of the British race had done in any quarter of the world—in Canada, Africa, Australia, in the East—that showed the ingredients he admired of pluck, resource, generosity, thought, and his whole being would quiver.

Over and over again I have seen him hardly able to speak, so moved was he by a kind of synthetic admiration, not perhaps for this or that person, but, through his national sense, for the whole human race, and his intense appreciation of the struggle in which we as sentient beings are involved. A sentence of his own written some forty years ago, quoted by the writer of articles in the *Scotsman*, so aptly describes this feeling of his that I must transcribe it again:

> I like to think of the human race from whatever stock its members may spring, in whatever age they may be born, whatever creed they may profess, together in the presence of the One Reality, engaged not wholly in vain, in spelling out some fragments of its message.

People have written about his faith and his Christianity: Lord Cecil the other day at the Zionist memorial service in the Albert Hall said Lord Balfour drew his inspiration, not from the things that were seen, but from those that were unseen—a good description of his mental attitude, for his thoughts and desires were ever roaming in the world of ideas, and the life of the Spirit was a supreme reality to him.

This faith of his, and his high resolve, never failed for a moment, nor would he allow anyone else to shirk the smallest duty for his sake if he knew of such an intention. 'Nonsense,' he would say; 'it is very important, you must go'; or 'you must not refuse.' His exquisite consideration for those about him never failed either, and made the last months of his weakness a precious memory for those who loved him and were privileged to be with him.

It is impossible not to feel that this faith of his has been abundantly justified, and that somewhere afar is wielded that strength and is shining that brilliant unwavering light.

EDITH LYTTELTON.

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THE PRESENT SITUATION IN INDIA

India is in the forefront of the world's news to-day, and she finds herself in that position because of the interest roused by Mr. Gandhi's personality and actions, and by the serious events which have followed in the train of his most recent attempt to overthrow British rule in that country by methods which are now peculiarly associated with his name, which are a compound of passive resistance and active opposition to the working of the administration, and are known the world over by the compendious title of non-violent civil disobedience. It is natural that Mr. Gandhi's doings and their results should occupy, not merely the centre, but practically the whole, of the Indian stage so far as newspapers and their readers are concerned, for Indian politics are a baffling, recondite study, which need continual first-hand observation by students if these are to keep their knowledge up to date and accurate, and very few have the opportunities for undertaking such observation. In these circumstances the natural tendency to identify a political movement with some

leading personality, and to seek a full and satisfactory explanation of its origin and character in his sayings and doings, has very little to check it. But these considerations do but make it all the more necessary to stress at the outset the fundamental truth that Mr. Gandhi's latest movement and its consequences, which form the most spectacular side of the existing political situation in India, and the side on which attention is now exclusively focussed, are, after all, only part of the situation and only one factor in present-day Indian politics. If, for example, Mr. Gandhi occupied to-day the position which he occupied ten years ago, when he was leading the old non-co-operation movement of 1920 and onwards, his actions would epitomise the actions of political India, and be commensurate with the general movement of Indian politics, much more nearly than they do and are. For in those days Mr. Gandhi had not only mass sentiment on his side, but he also had the willing, enthusiastic co-operation of most of the political leaders of the country, of whom only a comparatively small but, for the most part, intellectually brilliant section held aloof from a movement which, they clearly foresaw, must inevitably lead to disorder and bloodshed. Most important of all, he had behind him many influential Muhammadans and the driving force of the Khilafat agitation, in which the Indian Muhammadans gave expression to their resentment at the terms of the Peace Treaty with Turkey, and made their effort to get it modified. To-day, however, the Muhammadans are not only not with Mr. Gandhi, but are openly opposed to him, and the rest of political India has preferred a different way from his, and one which is to lead ultimately to a different kind of Swaraj. It will be the aim of this article to demonstrate the truth of the above judgment, for in the demonstration the essential features of the present situation in India will emerge.

Two outstanding events have more than anything else influenced the course of recent Indian politics, and, in consequence, have largely determined the conditions which we observe to-day. These two events are the appointment of the statutory Commission in November 1927 and the now historic announcement made by Lord Irwin on October 31 of last year. The statutory Commission, or, as it is more popularly known, the Simon Commission, was appointed in fulfilment of the obligation conferred by one of the sections of the Government of India Act of 1919—the statute which implemented the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. The section in question provided for the appointment of a Commission after a period of ten years to inquire into the working of the existing system of government in India and into certain cognate subjects. By the middle of 1927 the situation in India seemed to be about as favourable as it was ever likely to be for

the appointment of the body to discharge these duties. Except for sporadic recrudescences of Hindu-Muhammadan rioting, India was quiet from end to end. The active phases of the non-co-operation, Khilafat, and Akali Sikh movements had finally spent themselves, and the most prominent leaders of these movements were either busily engaged in the work of the legislative bodies, both central and provincial, which had been set up under the Act of 1919, or else had retired from active politics. Mr. Gandhi himself had been in retirement for nearly three years when the announcement of the personnel of the Commission was made. The Hindu-Muhammadan disturbances, which had formed such a prominent and important feature of Indian public life during the preceding four years, were clearly dying away into the lull which has now lasted, with but few interruptions, for about two years. From every point of view, therefore, the time seemed a favourable one for His Majesty's Government to begin the fulfilment of the obligation imposed on them by the Act of 1919. The absence of Indians from the Commission gave rise to resentment and determination to boycott in many influential quarters in India. In the event, however, the boycott proved to be less general than the resentment, for there were important adhesions to co-operation in the work of the statutory Commission, and the legislative councils of every province but one in India decided, either without a division or by a majority, to elect a committee to work with the Commission on the lines indicated by Sir John Simon in his letter to the Viceroy of February 1928—the letter, that is, in which he explained his conception of the work of the Commission, together with the committees chosen by or from the various legislative bodies, central and provincial, as that of a Joint Free Conference. On the whole, it is fair to say that the minority communities of India decided on co-operation with the Commission, as also did the great non-Brahmin political organisation of the south of India, the well-known 'Justice' Party. In the Punjab and Bengal, where the great bulk of the community is located, and in the United Provinces, where they form a very strong minority, Muhammadans were mostly in favour of co-operation, but elsewhere they seem to have been divided, with, on the whole, a majority in favour of boycott of the Commission. But the All-India National Congress, the Nationalist Party in the Legislative Assembly, and the All-India Liberal Federation, which represent a very large and influential section of organised political opinion in India, decided to boycott the Commission. The Legislative Assembly, by the narrow majority of six votes, accepted a resolution in favour of boycott moved by a member of the Nationalist Party. No further account of the division of Indian opinion on the subject of the statutory

Commission is necessary, because it is clear from what has been said that opinion was not only divided, but, in view of its broad division between the majority community and the various minority communities, was divided in a manner which gave a sharp edge to the division.

One inevitable reaction to the appointment of the Commission was an attempt by the boycotting element to produce their own solution of the great problem set by the future government of India, and simultaneously with the beginning of the work of the Joint Free Conference early in 1928 began a series of 'All-Party Conferences,' composed of leading representatives of the boycotting sections. The Muhammadans were represented by the leaders of that group which acknowledged allegiance to the All-Indian National Congress, by the leaders of the Independent Party in the Legislative Assembly, and by one or two who belonged to the All-Indian Liberal Federation. From the beginning the crux of the discussions at the All-Party Conferences was formed by the all-important question of the safeguards, political and economic, to be ensured to Muhammadans by any future Constitution which might be devised for India. Muhammadans were, and are, for all practical purposes unanimous in their determination to retain the existing system of communal electorates—that is, the system by which purely Muhammadan communities return their own members to the various legislative bodies. They further wished to ensure the permanency of their majorities in the Punjab and Bengal, and a minimum representation in the public services and legislatures, central and provincial. Even the leaders of the extreme left wing of Muhammadan opinion were not prepared to go the whole way towards joint electorates, but insisted on the reservation to Muhammadans of a certain proportion of seats in the legislative bodies. Clearly these are questions of fundamental importance. The differences of opinion to which they led were sharpened when, during 1928, proposals that Sind should be separated from Bombay and made into a full province, as well as the North-West Frontier province and even Baluchistan, were definitely formulated and discussed. For the implementing of these proposals would imply, if we exclude Burma, that there would be eleven major provinces in India in five of which the Muhammadans would be in a majority. Organised Hindu opinion, particularly that part of it represented by the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, which is an organisation for the promotion of the general interests of the Hindu community, strenuously resisted these demands, and in the circumstances it is not surprising that no settlement of Hindu-Muhammadan differences could be reached in the open meetings of the All-Parties Conference.

It was necessary, therefore, to delegate the task of making proposals for the reconciliation of these fundamental disagreements to a smaller body, and in consequence a sub-committee of important leaders of the schools of thought represented in the All-Parties Committee was chosen to study the whole matter and submit a report to the All-Parties Conference. The sub-committee carried on its work throughout part of the summer of 1928, and in August of that year submitted a Report which embodied their suggestions for the future government of India, including, of course, their solution of the difficulties inherent in the position of the minority communities, particularly of the Muhammadan community. The Report was the work chiefly of two of the most prominent men in Indian public life—Pandit Motilal Nehru, leader of the Congress Party in the Legislative Assembly, and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, leader of the Indian Liberal group. Whatever opinion may be formed concerning the adequacy of their Report as a solution of the immensely difficult problems involved in the construction of a future Constitution for India, there can be no doubt as to the earnestness of their desire to deal fairly with the interests of the different communities, and contemplation of the fate of their Report, now usually known as the Nehru Report, throws much light on the fundamentals of the existing situation in India. Interest in the Report was focussed on the solution of the problems presented by the rival claims of the two great communities, and it was on this part of its recommendations that the Report ultimately foundered. The protagonists of both communities attacked the Report, the Muhammadans chiefly because it did not meet their views with regard to the electoral system and the proportion of representation which they desired in the legislatures, the Hindus because they believed that the creation of 'communal' provinces in addition to communal electorates cut at the very roots of Indian national unity. The existing differences between Hindu and Muhammadan ideas of the future government of India have taken shape and form from the vigorous controversy which raged round the Nehru Report. Virtually the whole Muhammadan community is now firmly united in a series of demands the satisfaction of which its leaders regard as of vital importance to the future of their community. The core of their demands is that for the present, at any rate, the system of communal electorates shall continue, that Muhammadan representation in the central legislature shall not be less than one-third, that Sind should be made into a separate province, and that reforms on the same footing as in other provinces shall be introduced into the North-West Frontier province and Baluchistan, and that the form of the future Constitution shall

be federal, with residuary powers vested in the provinces. There are other demands, notably one for an adequate representation of Muhammadans in all the services of the State, but these need not detain us. The fundamental importance of those already detailed is at once apparent after what has been said above.

The general effect of the Nehru Report, then, has been to crystallise Muhammadan political claims and range the community solidly behind them, a statement the truth of which may be seen from the proceedings of the very representative gathering presided over by His Highness the Aga Khan at Delhi during the first week of January 1929; the debate of March 11, 1929, in the Legislative Assembly; and, lastly, the proceedings of representative Muhammadan meetings and authoritative pronouncements by Muhammadan leaders during the past few weeks. And just as Muhammadan opinion hardened and unified in favour of these demands, so did that of a large section of Hindu opinion, particularly that represented by the Hindu Mahasabha, against them, until by the summer of 1929 claims and denials were ranged over against each other divided by a gulf which seemed unbridgable by the leaders of the two great communities. On this side, therefore, the Nehru Report had clearly broken down; and it had been hotly assailed from another direction also. For the Report is based on full Dominion status for India; but a section of the All-India National Congress, composed chiefly of the younger men, claimed nothing short of complete independence for India, and soon it became clear that this issue of Dominion status *versus* independence would in all probability be the chief subject of discussion and vote at the annual meeting of the All-India National Congress at Calcutta in December 1928, the leading advocate there of the independence group being Mr. Srinivasa Ayangar, an ex-President of Congress and Pandit Motilal Nehru's rival for the leadership of the Congress Party in the Legislative Assembly. The rivalry between these two leaders, together with the controversy over the respective desirability of independence *versus* Dominion status for India, calls for mention, because it was the immediate cause of Mr. Gandhi's return to politics, with the important consequences which have since flowed from that event. Mr. Gandhi devised a formula satisfactory to each of the two contending leaders and sufficiently vague to allow of its acceptance by both the believers in independence and the believers in Dominion status. But during the same week in which the Congress session was held there was also held the last meeting of the All-Parties Conference, at which a final appeal was made by Mr. Junnah, the spokesman of those Muhammadans who had boycotted the statutory Commission, for the acceptance of the Muhammadan demands. With

the final rejection of this appeal the attempt of the leaders of the boycott to reconcile Hindu and Muhammadan political aspirations ended for the time being, and so also, in effect, did the validity of the Nehru Report as a measure of common agreement between the interests represented at the All-Parties Conference. The formal abandonment of the Nehru Report by the All-India National Congress came in December 1929.

In general, the political record of 1929 in India is a tale of drift and indecision on the part of political leaders, of growing sharpness of separation between Hindu and Muhammadan political claims, of a general falling asunder of the bonds which had held the various boycotting parties and interests together during the time that the presence of the statutory Commission in India gave reality to the boycott and life to the proceedings of the All-Parties Conference. But the developments outlined above in Hindu-Muhammadan relations proved a disruptive force, as also did the proceedings of the Calcutta session of the All-India National Congress. In the main resolution of the session, drawn up by Mr. Gandhi and adopted in open Congress, the warning was given that unless the British Parliament accepted the Constitution outlined in the Nehru Report on or before December 31, 1930, the Congress would revive non-violent non-co-operation by advising the country to refuse taxation and every other aid to the Government. The fissiparous influence of this resolution, so far as Hindu-Muhammadan unity is concerned, is sufficiently clear from what has been said above, but it had a disruptive effect inside the Hindu ranks themselves. For practically all the non-Congress parties and groups definitely abjured non-co-operation after the bitter and tragic lessons of the old non-co-operation movement, and inside Congress there were many who looked askance at a policy of independence and at movements of non-co-operation or civil disobedience designed to implement it. Therefore during 1929 such groups or organisations as the Liberals and the Hindu Mahasabha let it be known that they had no taste for Mr. Gandhi's threatened revival of non-co-operation.

There were good reasons for their distaste. The Muhammadans, the non-Brahmins of the south, and other powerful interests and communities would quite obviously hold aloof from any form of civil disobedience, whilst unrest among the industrial masses and political agitation among the youths of India had already by the spring of 1929 produced a dangerous state of feeling in these two elements of the population, which of all others are the most easily stampeded into action and the most impossible to control once they are on the move; and, lastly, among the Liberal and Hindu Mahasabha leaders is to be

found a great part of the constructive political talent of India, and it cannot be doubted that the change in the attitude of these men towards the question of once more co-operating with the Government was at least partly due to the natural instinct of strong and constructive minds to be up and doing something practical. And among the more thoughtful and responsible leaders of the Congress Party itself these same forces were at work to produce much the same attitude and the same results. They had all made a sincere and determined effort at constructive politics with the Nehru Report, and its overthrow by forces which neither they nor any others could control, and also their knowledge of the dangers inherent in a revival of non-co-operation, which this time would depend for its strength practically entirely on the two unstable elements mentioned above, had forced them, if not back to the side of the Government, at any rate into a position at which they could be met by a wise and conciliatory move by the Government. This was the situation which Lord Irwin's insight led him to appreciate in the summer of last year, and which he handled in masterly fashion by his statesmanlike announcement of October 31. The announcement made on behalf of the Home Government declared that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as contemplated in the declaration made in Parliament by the late Mr. Montagu in August 1917, was the attainment of Dominion status. The announcement further stated that after the publication of the Reports of the statutory Commission and the Indian Central Committee and the consideration of these by the Home and Indian Governments it was proposed to invite representatives of the different parties and interests in British India, together with representatives of the Indian States, to meet His Majesty's Government to discuss British India and all-India problems. The effect of this announcement was immediate and encouraging. For some time previous to the actual publication rumours of an impending important announcement by the Viceroy had gained circulation, and even the approximate date was guessed with some accuracy. The political leaders were not, therefore, taken by surprise, and two important meetings were convened, one in Delhi and the other in Bombay, to discuss the announcement. Each of these meetings was attended by politicians of first-rate importance, and the most prominent leaders of the boycott of the statutory Commission attended one or other of them. The Bombay meeting unanimously and cordially accepted the invitation to the Conference and welcomed the announcement. The Delhi meeting was the more important of the two, for Mr. Gandhi was there with Pandit Motilal Nehru and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyar, the two most prominent leaders of

the Indian Liberals, together with prominent Nationalists and Congress men. This meeting, with the exception of the representatives of the left wing of the Congress Party, of whom the most determined was Pandit Jawahirlal Nehru, son of the Congress Party leader, was disposed to welcome and accept the Viceroy's announcement unconditionally, but Pandit Jawahirlal Nehru wished to reject the invitation to the Conference. It is strange now to remember that it was Mr. Gandhi who persuaded him to go along with the others present at the meeting, but this took some time, and the deliberations extended over a second day.

In the end a manifesto was issued over the signatures of all present. The manifesto declared the appreciation of its signatories of the sincerity underlying the Viceroy's announcement, but stated that they regarded it as of vital importance that two or three things—one of them was the declaration of amnesty for political prisoners—should be done by the Government so as to demonstrate the genuineness of the offer. Also the manifesto said that its signatories understood that the Conference was to meet, not to discuss when Dominion status was to be established, but to frame a scheme of Dominion status for India, a very vital extension of the meaning and wording of the announcement. This manifesto was curiously misinterpreted at the time, both in England and in India. It was held to prove that the representatives of the more moderate sections of opinion had capitulated to the adherents to extremer views; actually the exact opposite represents the truth. It was the extremists who had had to advance more than half-way to meet the others. Nothing would have pleased Pandit Jawahirlal Nehru and his colleagues better than to have persuaded the Liberal and Nationalist and other leaders to lay down binding conditions of acceptance of the invitation to the Conference as such as could not possibly have been agreed to by the Government. The rejection of these conditions could then have been denounced in the Congress Press and on their platforms as a proof of the insincerity of the British Government and of the merely formal character of the proposed Conference.

But the Liberals and Nationalists present made it quite clear that they were going to accept the offer of the Conference, and that also was the attitude of more than one important member of the Congress Party who was present. With the report of the proceedings of the Bombay meeting before him, Jawahirlal Nehru realised that if he rejected the offer of the Conference forthwith he would find himself with a very small following isolated from the rest of political India. Mr. Gandhi also saw this; and there is, moreover, good reason to believe that at first he was inclined to welcome the announcement, both

because of its intrinsic importance and because it offered a way out of the difficulty in which he was placed by his threat to start civil disobedience on January 1 unless Parliament in the meantime accepted the Nehru Report. Therefore, in the end, Jawahirlal Nehru and the other die-hards were forced to accept the hard logic of facts and sign the manifesto giving their wishes the form of recommendations, and not conditions. The more moderate leaders signed it, recognising that it was the greatest common measure of agreement which they were likely to get, and, of course, from the point of view of tactics, unity was all-desirable. It is necessary to notice that this manifesto was reaffirmed by the same signatories nearly three weeks later—that is, after the debates on the announcement in both Houses of Parliament. These debates were vigorously denounced by a large and influential section of the Indian Press as showing that the process of whittling down the importance and the potentialities of the Viceroy's announcement had already begun, and strenuous efforts were made by those interested in frustrating Lord Irwin's policy of conciliation and co-operation to get the Indian leaders to insist on definite guarantees on the lines of the recommendations contained in the manifesto. In particular, great stress was laid on getting a promise that the Conference would meet to devise a Constitution on the basis of immediate Dominion status for India. Nevertheless, the manifesto was reissued in its original form, a circumstance demonstrating the strong hold which the Viceroy's announcement had already taken on the imagination of India, and, what is also very important, that Mr. Gandhi had still not made up his mind to reject the offer of the Conference. His rejection, except on the obviously impossible condition that the Conference should meet to draw up a Dominion status Constitution for India, was announced, however, on December 23, on the eve of the annual session of the All-India National Congress, which was to be held in Lahore. The impossibility of accepting Mr. Gandhi's condition did not lie only in constitutional reasons, but in the existing circumstances of India. At once Muhammadans and the other minority communities asked the question 'What are the details of the Constitution which Mr. Gandhi wants?' and in view of the fate of the Nehru Report the question was unanswerable. Only in the most extreme circles was any jubilation displayed at Mr. Gandhi's surprise decision; on the contrary, even some of the most prominent newspapers of the Congress section of the Press showed disappointment, whilst the rest of Indian political opinion was openly hostile to it. It is profitless to try to probe Mr. Gandhi's motives, and even his own explanations have not been clear of obscurity and contradiction. In the Lahore Congress a great fight took place behind the scenes

in the Subjects Committee, where many of the most influential delegates, including ex-Presidents of the Congress itself, withstood his efforts to get the open session of Congress to endorse his action. The proceedings of the Lahore session were given world-wide publicity—at least, the more sensational proceedings and speeches were. The internal and far more important proceedings were not described in any detail even in India, far less outside; and, as is generally known, Mr. Gandhi succeeded. The open session of Congress, it is necessary to state, is composed of delegates of the local Congress organisations, and in practice anybody can become a delegate on nominal conditions. But Mr. Gandhi paid a heavy price for success, the price being isolation from almost every other section of political India, and even from a by no means unimportant section of the All-India National Congress itself. Clearly he was greatly shaken by the opposition which he had encountered at Lahore, for immediately after the close of the Congress session he announced publicly that his threatened civil disobedience campaign, which, as we said, was due to start on January 1, could not be undertaken, as India was not ready for it.

The situation at the beginning of this year was, broadly speaking, as follows. The Viceroy's announcement had passed through several severe trials, and was left with the support of all political India except the extreme left wing of the All-India National Congress organisation, which had been split into several factions by disagreements over the Viceroy's announcement or by personal quarrels. Schemes of civil disobedience were at a discount because the best part of India was attracted by Lord Irwin's offer of a Conference, and because the dangers of a new non-co-operation movement following the inflammatory agitation which has been carried on of late years among the industrial masses and the impressionable youth of India threatened results from which all but the least responsible recoiled. After the excitement of Lahore the political leaders began to settle down to preparations for constructive work for the forthcoming Conference, and these were already under way, when in February, a bare six weeks after he had publicly acknowledged the impossibility of starting a civil disobedience campaign, Mr. Gandhi announced that he proposed to set such a campaign on foot at once by breaking the Salt Laws at an early date. Again his decision came as a surprise, and again he can have derived but scanty encouragement from his study of Press comment and the attitude of his fellow-politicians, even of many who had been his associates in his old non-co-operation movement. The salt tax, of course, was a popular object of attack, not because it is onerous—its incidence is about *2d.* per head per annum—but because of the dislike in which it is

held for historic reasons, and it is fully clear from Mr. Gandhi's sayings and doings before he embarked on his campaign that he was confident that he would be immediately arrested. His immediate or very early arrest seems, indeed, to have been his one hope of regaining a measure of his past influence and power with the leaders of some, at any rate, of the parties who were standing aloof from his boycott of the Conference offered by Lord Irwin; for there is no doubt that a wave of sympathy for him would have swept the ranks of political India had he been arrested before it had been shown beyond all possibility of doubt that his defiance of the law must lead inevitably to the dangerous consequences to which, in fact, they have led.

Public opinion in India is not like public opinion in this country, broad-based on a reasonably high level of general education and on correct information, and also on long practice in the actual use of political power. Therefore the attitude of a comparatively few leading men can and does determine the response of public opinion and the Press in India to any particular development in politics. The importance of not alienating the leaders is therefore obvious. It would not be right to speak dogmatically on the actual results achieved in this direction by the Government's waiting policy, but all information at present available certainly seems to justify it, for most of the supporters of the London Conference still appear to be standing where they did.

It would be a profound mistake to underrate the importance of the unrest set up by Mr. Gandhi's movement of the past eight or nine weeks, but it would be an equally profound mistake to overrate it. It was shown earlier in this article that the movement has nothing like the volume and weight of support which his old non-co-operation movement had, and the history of the disturbances which have followed in the train of his actions since he left his home on March 12 proves completely that the political parties and the political leaders have held aloof from them. In a word, the mainspring of the disturbances has been mob excitement engendered by the activities of workers belonging to the extreme left of the old Congress organisation, using Mr. Gandhi's name and personal prestige to effect results which he could not possibly approve, although he seems to regard them with more complacency than he did some years ago. The recent events in Sholapur are a good example of this, for the clashes between the mob and the police originated in the action of youths and others who, among other things, used Mr. Gandhi's temperance movement to justify the leading of a mob to cut down the palm trees from which toddy is made. Similarly, the anti-salt tax compaign quickly passed out of his control and developed features and produced results which he can hardly have contemplated at first.

A survey of the disturbances which have occurred shows them to be sporadic and due to popular exuberance, not the outcome of wide based political movement supported by political leaders and political parties. Moreover, the disturbances have been both fewer and less widely spread than they might have been. Before Mr. Gandhi's arrest riots took place in Bombay, Karachi, Poona, and Calcutta, but these were, so to speak, isolated and self-contained events, quickly arising and quickly checked. Chittagong and Peshawar, far and away the most serious incidents of all, were apart from the movement. The Chittagong affair was the result of the recrudescence of the old Bengal revolutionary movement, whilst the Peshawar affair was as much due to the unfortunate resentment against the passing of the recent Child Marriage Act as to anything else. The Frontier Muhammadans do not marry their girls young, but they maintain that legislative intervention in the marriage age interferes with their religious law—always a source of danger with such people as those of the North-West Frontier. Also the turbulence of the Peshawar mob is such that almost any spark can fire the inflammable material always lying about there. Even Mr. Gandhi's arrest evoked active response in very few places, the most serious affair taking place in Delhi, where the police had to use their firearms. In short, this present movement of Mr. Gandhi's is on a totally different scale from his earlier movement. But in saying this the gravity of the situation created by him must not be overlooked. Mob passions have been aroused, the law has been defied, and unrest and hatred of authority have been engendered in many places other than those which have witnessed actual outbreaks. Mr. Gandhi had to be arrested, but his arrest took place after the failure of his movement had been demonstrated, for Mr. Gandhi set out to inaugurate a great national non-violent movement against the present Administration of India and to rally political parties and leaders to his side. His movement never became the national movement which he desired ; it gave rise to violent outrages almost immediately, and most of the parties and leaders, except the Congress left wingers, have remained aloof. But, though Mr. Gandhi's movement has ended in this way, the main political movement in India goes on. Mr. Gandhi's policy may not find wide acceptance in responsible quarters, but the goal of Dominion status mentioned in the Viceroy's announcement of last October does. Happily, the present storm does not seem to have killed the response—which we have studied in this article—to Lord Irwin's policy of advance by conference and co-operation That is what matters more than anything else.

J. Coatman.

THE NAVAL TREATY

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD'S modesty over the results of the Na Conference has disarmed hostile criticism, and his request tl we should regard it as a prelude, and not the end, of the song \ be very generally respected. But one has only to throw or mind back to the time of his American visit to realise how gr the disappointments of the Conference have been, and how mı offence he would have given had he been other than mod His was the first visit ever paid to the United States by a Brit Prime Minister in office, and to an occasion so extraordinar more than ordinary sequel was expected. The London Na Treaty between the three Powers has solid and useful virtues, l it is of no use to deny that it is an anticlimax to our hopes. T Treaty will save money and forestall any idea of naval riva between this country and America, but we should probably ha saved the money in any case, Treaty or no Treaty ; and had ı President Hoover by his overtures gone half way to make amer for the quarrel at Geneva and invited this country to go the otl half ? If Mr. MacDonald could have done no more than he d it is difficult to imagine how anyone could have done less. M was certainly expected by our people, and, unless gossip is m than usually ill-informed, more was talked of in the conversat between the Prime Minister and the President. Positive resu no one could command, but one certainly expected some new i to emerge which, if it were not carried, would at any rate put t problem of disarmament on a high and hopeful plane. As it w the Conference was exceedingly tedious in performance a exceedingly conventional in its ideas. One hoped for some fli in imaginative statesmanship. One saw what, except for incredible displays of tact, was little better than a class arithmetic.

Without quarrelling with the Treaty, still less denouncing it dangerous to the safety of this country as so many Conservati seem inclined to do, so weak a conclusion from so brave a beg ning must suggest serious doubts in many minds. Mr. MacDon himself has invited us to make the test one of future hope rat than of the immediate performance. One must therefore look

the future and ask whether there is really much hope of further progress on present lines. As far as possible, the Conference tried to empty all politics out of disarmament and reduce the problem to something no more soulful than arithmetic or than a simultaneous quadratic. Shall we get any further in this mathematical school of disarmament? Or shall we not, having emptied politics out of the problem, have to bring them back and find the solution by their help? It is, after all, only by an accident that the mathematical school has acquired its present vogue. The Disarmament Commission of the League of Nations at Geneva had no other course open to it than to discard politics and try to find common divisors of armament power. As might have been expected, it became hopelessly embogged in trying to find common divisors for naval, military, and air power, and to work out how many cruisers went to an infantry division and how many submarines equalled an air squadron. It was then that the United States first intervened with the suggestion from which the Geneva Conference resulted—that we might have a better chance if we took naval power separately. But both at Geneva and then at London we remained faithful to the mathematical school of disarmament. Many even of those who appreciate the good that is in the London Treaty are beginning to doubt whether our methods are right, and whether the disarmers will not be wise to take up once more the discarded political methods.

The technical details of the Conference were examined last month in these pages by Admiral Dewar, and in this article it is sought only to disentangle a few leading ideas over which the differences of opinion at the Conference and about it have arisen. The battleships give little trouble. They are useful to fight fleet actions only, and probably the weight of opinion is in favour of the view that actions in which a whole fleet is deliberately pitted against another belong to a bygone era, and that for this and other reasons battleships are obsolete. The same considerations apply more or less to the larger cruisers, whose main function is as auxiliaries of the battleships in a fleet action. For this reason in the draft agreement that we made with France in 1928 we were quite content to have an equal tonnage with her in cruisers carrying heavier than 6-inch guns. Broadly, you may say that the effective criticism of reductions that have been made in fleet action or capital ships is not that they have been so great, but that they ought to have been greater. After all, if we are not to fight actions at sea with the United States, the principle of parity with her is purely sentimental. Apart from her we have ample margin of superiority in fleet action or capital ships. At the other end of the scale of size are the destroyers and submarines. These craft are used as auxiliaries in a fleet action, but their main

function is, not to fight battles, but in the one case to protect a in the other case to attack merchant shipping in war-time. ' this same category belong the smaller cruisers. Here the Trea gives us a parity with the United States which corresponds wi no conceivable naval contingency, but that parity gives us nothi like the same margin in European waters that we have in capit ships. Thus, as compared with France, the scale agreed w America allows us an excess or plurality of nearly two to o (619,000 tons against 334,000) in capital ships, but in the small craft of all kinds, whose main function is to attack or defend co merce, the plurality is less than six to five. It is most unfortuna that in all the discussions about reductions in this second gene category argument should have been so conducted as to imp that there is a rivalry between ourselves and America. Exce that the size of the American fleet determines that of Japan, h strength makes no practical difference to us. But in the narr waters nearer home, where shipping may be exposed to mo deadly attack, parity with America in small craft commits us a plurality over France, which if war came would be lamentab below our requirements. This danger is in effect admitted Article 21 of the Treaty, which contemplates an increased pro sion of these craft in certain contingencies.

To say that there is a risk is not to say that it ought not to taken. But a risk that it may be wise to ignore is not therefo actually non-existent, and that it should exist at all is undoubted a very serious flaw in the mathematical reduction of fleets catego by category. Parity with America cannot be squared with a rational view of the functions of the British Fleet. It yields t navally perverse results, and one that is politically dangero First, because America wants a certain excess of ships in relati to Japan, it condemns us in fleet action or capital ships to an actu excess over our requirements. Fleet actions between our ow and American navies are ruled outside the bounds of possibilit It is barely possible to imagine any circumstances in which should be fighting fleet actions without an ally with the Japane navy. Thus parity, so far as capital ships are concerne though it reduces numbers, still maintains our armamen beyond reasonable requirements. The second perverse result that parity with America should commit us to a scale in ships f protecting commerce in home waters that is below the standard safety. Germany never had more than thirty submarines at s at once in the last war, but we were in grave danger, despite superiority in small craft that was overwhelming. No one in h senses would maintain that a superiority of six to five would adequate against dangers that, for reasons that need not discussed here, would be vastly greater. Lastly, there is also

political risk ; for, if the naval risks now deliberately taken by the Admiralty proved too great, we should have to denounce the formula of equality with America in these smaller craft and no doubt incur much unpleasant criticism from the Senate. It may still be argued quite fairly that these objections must be swallowed for the sake of greater, if contingent, good that may follow. Our Admiralty, again, may have perfectly good reasons for taking the risk, apart from any desire to speculate for a rise in Kellogg securities. Balancing the smallness of the risk between now and 1935, when the Treaty may be revised, against the very definite advantage of having a navy of later date, it may well be old Adam making calculations which are by no means in keeping with the spirit of the Kellogg Pact. But these objections, though not decisive against this particular Treaty, are sufficiently serious to condemn mathematical disarmament. It may not have taken us too far, but will it take us far enough in the future; and have we not already reached the measure of its usefulness ?

It is said for the Treaty that at any rate it has made up the open quarrel between us and America at Geneva. Strictly, that is an exaggeration, for the quarrel had been made up when Mr. MacDonald visited America, and the Treaty is only a formal registration of a political fact that already existed. Registration is no doubt extremely important, especially when it takes place, as this has done, under the eyes of the world ; but it does not alter the naval facts, which are that we are over-insured against dangers on the high seas which are exceedingly remote and under-insured against dangers in the narrow seas round our own coasts. The original objections to restrictions on smaller craft according to any standard that may apply to the conditions of the United States still remain unchanged. They have taken three forms—in 1921, at the Geneva Conference, and now. The first was excellently expressed in the despatch from the Coalition Government to Lord Balfour at Washington, which Mr. Churchill has been so severely censured for quoting. Whether the quotation was a breach of official secrecy need not now be discussed ; it was certainly a most valuable addition to the public argument, for the new Treaty had been represented as a natural and logical extension of the Washington Treaty. It is, on the contrary, as the quotation showed, a break with the principles of 1921. Press by all means for the abolition of submarines, said the despatch, in effect, but even if, contrary to what is to be expected, you can obtain it, you must consult us before you agree to any reduction in smaller craft ; and the reason given is that the position of Britain, with her world-wide possessions and her need of food supplies, clearly requires an entirely different standard from that acceptable by self-contained communities. That is a decisive rejection

of the idea of a common divisor for small craft. The despatc continues:

> We cannot in the face of French freedom to construct a great submarir fleet, to say nothing of the submarine and cruiser construction of othe Powers, enter into any agreement fettering our liberty to build whatev numbers and classes of cruisers and anti-submarine craft we may conside necessary to the maintenance of national and Imperial life.

The quotation finally concludes with the instruction to insist o this liberty even at the cost of a complete rupture. In the ligh of that passage it is absurd to represent the disagreement a Geneva as though it were a mere fault breaking the continuity the stratum of disarmament from the Washington to the Londo Treaty. The diplomacy at Geneva may have been clumsy, an the open quarrel was a disaster, especially when it was followe by the draft Treaty with France, against which the commor sense of the country rose in revolt. But it was the politics c Geneva that were bad, not the naval argument, for this w identical with the instruction to Lord Balfour. Whatever ma be thought of Mr. Churchill's propriety, it was a useful correctioi to the misrepresentation of the policy at Geneva as a foolish anc mischievous Admiralty interpolation between the wisdom of Lorc Balfour at Washington and that of Mr. MacDonald in London The break came in the London Conference, and even there it wa not complete, as Article 21 of the Treaty shows. And, legitimate and laudable as may be the hope that the new spirit of the Kellog Peace Pact will produce political results that will neutralise th stark naval facts, is there anyone who will guarantee this result?

The truth is that the Geneva disagreement, though it ha been cut down, still has its roots not only in geographical fact which cannot be changed, but deep down in the story of ou relations with the United States. The friendship between thi country and the United States will always be liable to disturbanc by naval disagreement until the conspiracy of silence on the rea trouble between us and America is ended. Only a hero can end that trouble, and one cannot blame Mr. MacDonald for having failed. But one had hoped that he would try, and one cannot but express regret that he apparently fears departmental opposition more than he trusts in the strength of the disarmament cause and in the magnificent popular support that a courageous lead would have won for him.

The trouble between us is that, mainly for historical reasons, this country and the United States have radically different ideas about the belligerent rights of a navy against merchant, and more particularly neutral, shipping. Count Bernstorff, when he was German Ambassador in Washington, nearly succeeded in making as ugly a bugbear of our 'navalism' as was German militarism

Germany had invaded Belgium, it is true; but had not Great Britain also interfered with American shipping to neutral countries, and was not the rigid application of our naval blockade as dangerous to women and children as the German air raids? The protests of America against our naval policy lacked nothing in asperity, and at one time threatened real danger to our friendly relations. This disagreement was cut down by later events, just as the disagreement at Geneva has been cut down by the Treaty of London; but the roots remain and—a fact that we persistently refuse to recognise—they are the same roots in both cases. In the despatches on the 'freedom of the seas' before America came into the war we were asserting belligerent right against that of the neutral and non-combatant. The issue is precisely the same in the controversy over submarine war on neutral shipping. But whereas in the one case America was the complainant against what she regarded as our abuse of belligerent right, in the other case we are the complainants against the building up of great submarine fleets whose main use is to defeat blockade and unlawfully to interrupt commercial communications, and thus contemplating an abuse of belligerent right against ourselves. It is out of that prospective abuse and the special dangers to which our geographical position and our far-flung Commonwealth expose us that the whole trouble at Geneva arose. We argued that we needed an excess of small craft disproportionate to the needs of any Continental Power. This claim has not yet been met. America, it is true, supported us in our proposal for the abolition of submarines, but everyone knew that it had not the slightest chance of being carried. But the claim to make special provision against a special danger has not been recognised by the United States or any other Power. It has, no doubt prudently, been withdrawn from controversy, but it is still visible awash in Article 21 of the Treaty.

There are two reasons why the claim could not be admitted. The first, on which enough has already been said, is that there is no room for such a claim in any mathematical scheme of disarmament. The second, and perhaps more important, reason may be best illustrated by a reminder of how our early war quarrel with America over belligerent right came to the surface in the Allied negotiations for the Armistice terms at the end of the war. One of President Wilson's Fourteen Points was the 'freedom of the seas'; Mr. Lloyd George early in the Allied negotiations insisted that this should not be made a condition of the Armistice with Germany, and this question nearly broke up the Conference. Colonel House, who tells us the whole story, says that he threatened to withdraw from the negotiations if this condition were not accepted. 'The question would then arise,' he told them, 'whether America would not have to take up these matters

directly with Germany and Austria.' When Clemenceau declared that that would amount to a separate peace between the Central Powers and the United States, Colonel House said, 'It might'—a statement which, as he telegraphed to President Wilson, 'had very exciting effect on those present.' President Wilson, in reply, sent a cypher telegram confirming Colonel House's proposition. 'I feel it my solemn duty,' he telegraphed, 'to authorise you to say that I cannot consent to take part in the negotiations of a peace which does not include the freedom of the seas, because we are pledged to fight not only Prussian militarism, but militarism everywhere.' In the end the subject was excluded from the Armistice terms with Germany, but Mr. Lloyd George gave a general assurance that 'we were quite willing to discuss the freedom of the seas in the light of the new conditions that have arisen in the course of the present war.' The comment of Colonel House is worth quoting, for it still has relevance. He wrote:

> With the Freedom of the Seas guaranteed by a Covenant between nations, there would be no incentive for the United States, France, Germany or Russia to maintain navies larger than were sufficient for peace. To say that such a treaty would not be regarded in times of stress is to condemn all treaties. . . . The benefits which would accrue to Great Britain through the Freedom of the Seas would be free communication with her Dominions and the certainty that her food supply and raw materials could never be interrupted. Such a policy would eliminate the terrors of submarine war, for submarines could only be used against battleships and craft of war.[1]

With this wrangle fresh in our minds, we now know why the Lloyd George Government wrote the strong despatch to Lord Balfour which Mr. Churchill has revealed, and why the Admiralty insisted so strongly at Geneva on our right to make an especial provision in small craft against a danger that threatened us as it threatened no other Power. But we also know why America has not acknowledged that right.

The London Treaty, subject to Article 21, allows the claim to be at any rate temporarily shelved, and to that extent breaks with our position at Geneva, Washington, and at Paris when the Armistice terms were being discussed. The American argument against our right has also been suppressed out of politeness, but it still holds and is capable of being revived. 'How can you,' America might ask, 'claim the right to special measures of protection against one abuse of sea power when you are insisting on what we have always maintained since Benjamin Franklin's days is another abuse of sea-power? How can you complain that the seas will not be free for your communications in war-time when you have yourselves resisted our insistent demand for the

[1] *Colonel House's Memoirs*, vol. iv., p. 192.

freedom of the seas? You are basing a demand for additional armaments of small craft because the seas are not free. But it is your, not our, fault that they are not free. If you abated your belligerent right and the seas were free, not only would you not need additional armaments of small craft, but the way might be open to a general naval disarmament.'

'The freedom of the seas' is a vague phrase which is very differently interpreted, and it is here put forward only as a suggestion of the general direction in which reform might tend, and not as a specific project of reform. The amazing fact about the London Conference is that the two countries chiefly concerned seem to have been in a conspiracy to say nothing whatever about it. Mr. MacDonald and President Hoover must have discussed it intimately together, for both must be presumed to know the recent and somewhat sensational history of the idea. Why was it shelved? Mr. Lloyd George's position at Paris was perfectly logical. 'We do not believe in the freedom of the seas,' he said in effect, 'for the exercise of our full belligerent right pulled us safely through the Great War. Therefore let us dodge the subject.' Equally logical was the position of Lord Balfour at Washington. 'We might extend reduction to small craft if there were no submarines' (so, in effect, his instructions ran), 'but break up the Conference rather than discuss this reduction while we are still faced with the danger in home waters of submarines.' 'And therefore,' ran the continuing logic of Geneva, 'we must insist on the right to make special provision in certain classes of craft against dangers to which we are especially liable by reason of our wide-flung sea communications and the menace of submarines to our commerce in the narrow seas.' These may be regrettable conclusions, but their logic is no more to be resisted than is the logic of America in not recognising our right to excess provision so long as our principles of armament are merely arithmetical. Mr. MacDonald seems to make the worst of both worlds. He neither consents at the Conference to discuss proposals which might by freeing the sea remove the danger of our position; nor, on the other hand, does he make special provision in small craft against this danger. He makes Conservatives uneasy, and, at the same time, he leaves the reformers unsatisfied. He seems, having taken the key to the whole problem of disarmament into his hand, to have deliberately decided to let it drop and to content himself with doing sums in arithmetic instead.

No doubt there is an inner history behind a failure which, on the face of it, is inexplicable. Nothing is more likely than that any interpretation of the freedom of the seas such as America would agree to would be vigorously resisted by our Admiralty. It may be that Mr. MacDonald did not wish to begin the Conference by the

resignation of the Board of Admiralty. That might conceivabl have been the consequence of his taking up a project which, whe all is said, is the only basis of a permanent naval friendshi between England and America. He may have been attracte by unexpected concessions that the Admiralty was ready to offe in order to keep projects for freeing the seas away from discussion Probably the Admiralty realised that such projects, if carriec must ultimately denavalise the sea altogether and convert it int a neutralised area like the Great Lakes in North America, and s end its own existence except as a superintendent of one branch o an International Water Police Force. It may also be possibl that America, in polite consideration for Mr. MacDonald's diffi culties and in genuine desire to put our friendship in no jeopardy deliberately kept in the background the oldest traditions of its ow naval policy.

Moreover, only a hero could have carried this sweeping reform through to a success, and we can hardly make it a complain against anyone in these days that he is not the stuff of which heroes are made.

We have no right, then, to make reproaches. But the fact remains that this tactical prudence and excess of caution dropped the chance of making the London Conference for eve memorable. As it stands it is a useful measure which no one will either praise or blame without reserve; there is nothing in it, limited as it is in time, that anyone need regard with alarm. But it is not a great contribution to disarmament, and does not mark the beginning of a new era. Perhaps the best to be hoped for is that from its comparative failure may be drawn encouragement to courageous constructive statesmanship later.

HERBERT SIDEBOTHAM.

ENGLAND AND EGYPT

THE breakdown which has just occurred in the Anglo-Egyptian negotiations over the proposed Treaty affords a much-needed opportunity for surveying the relations between the two countries. The people of this country, still, alas! in the main very uninstructed and vague about our foreign commitments, rights, and obligations, are apt to find, when seeking for guidance about our relations with Egypt, two sharply contrasting schools of opinion—one of the right and the other of the left. This leaves them confused and hesitant in regard to what their attitude should be. I believe that both those schools hold incorrect views, and I wish, before dealing with the recent negotiations, to explain my reasons for so thinking. Indeed, without such a preliminary review, it is difficult to deal with the matter at all.

The school of the right persists in regarding Egypt as a part of the British Empire, which, save during the brief period of the Protectorate, it has never been. It is at least doubtful whether the late Lord Cromer, whose position as the greatest craftsman in weaving a working relationship between Great Britain and Egypt has never been challenged, ever seriously regarded such a position even as a *desideratum*; but even if he did, the *pronunciamentos* of the late President Wilson and our policy in Arabia from 1916 onwards have rendered it impracticable. The school of the left, though it may not admit the fact, approaches the question as if Egypt were in the same category as any small, but economically important, State with which we are on terms of diplomatic friendliness.

Such an attitude wholly ignores our vital interest in the Canal, the obligations which it involves to Australia and New Zealand, and the growing importance of the India Air Route; equally it ignores our responsibility for the Soudan; finally, it is oblivious of the character of the Egyptian population. Egypt is neither a homogeneous African, Asiatic, nor European State. The peasant population of Egypt is ethnologically of very ancient North African stock. One of the most erudite of all Egyptologists told me once that he believed the genuine fellaheen to be descended almost without admixture from the Egyptian peasantry of the

time of the Pharaohs. The town population, on the other han is of an extraordinarily diversified character. There is the 'pash class, derived from Turkish, indigenous Egyptian, Circassian, an in some cases, negro slave origins. I think scientists would right describe this class as being the result of miscegenation, ar attribute some of its instability to this cause. The native bou geoisie and town artisans are almost as mixed in their origins the pasha class, and hardly more stable. Finally, there is tl class of those whom (to borrow a term familiar thirty years ag may be called the 'Uitlanders'; they hold most of the k positions in the finance and commerce of the country; mai of them belong to families who have been resident in Egy for centuries. They comprise Greeks, Italians, French ar British, with a small number of Americans, Germans, and oth nationalities.

History has again and again proved that the lives and proper of these people are unsafe without special measures for the security, which Egyptians themselves cannot or will not provic Let me give one or two examples which have occurred in rece years. The British who lost their lives in the 'train murder during the 1919 outbreak were butchered amid scenes of indescri able savagery; responsible Egyptian officials in the vicinity d nothing to restrain the fury of the mob. During the riots Alexandria in 1921 European nationals were insulted and assault (and some murdered) without the slightest real effort on the pa of the police to protect them. Just after this occurrence I m an Englishman occupying a responsible position in Alexandr where he had lived for over forty years. He told me that believed he was the only one of our fellow-countrymen who h seen the outrages against Europeans in Alexandria before t bombardment as well as the riots of 1921. He said that t Alexandrine mob had not altered one whit in the interveni years; there was the same furious blood lust against Europea in 1921 as in the 'eighties. The police, without their Europe officers, were as useless and supine in the later outbreak as the earlier; their attitude was that it was not their busin to protect foreigners. He added an interesting statement, t accuracy of which, though I have never heard it confirmed fr other sources, I see no reason to doubt. It was to the effect th the captain of a foreign warship which happened to be in t port informed the authorities that, unless British troops w within an hour put on the streets to restore order, he would la a force to do so. This officer is stated to have said that int national conventions and arrangements, however admirable times of tranquillity, should not be held to preclude the capta of a man-of-war from protecting the nationals of his country fr

loss of life and property, if other people, including the British authorities on the spot, did not do so. In fact, British troops did turn out and the rioting ceased. But if they had not done so, and this naval officer had carried out his intention, could the British Government, in view of certain incidents in our past history in Egypt and elsewhere, have taken serious objection, unfortunate as would have been the effect on our prestige? Supposing the same circumstances to arise again (which is not a very audacious presumption for those who know Alexandria), and there are no longer British troops there. Will the French or Italians be entitled in time of disturbance to land sailors or troops to protect their nationals? Clearly, it will be difficult to prevent them doing so, and equally it will lead to a division of authority, a divergence of method, and probably considerable ill-feeling between them and us.

The British, when dealing with disturbance at home or abroad (as, for example, in India), invariably wait for a policeman or soldier to be gravely assaulted, or even killed, before taking any action that will jeopardise the lives of the mob. Even so, if a rioter is seriously injured or killed, the Government of the day is liable to be assailed by questions in Parliament from indignant Liberals and Socialists, resolutions of protest are passed, and *clichés* about repression never solving grievances are plentiful in the weekly reviews. In the case of Continental countries, when dealing with trouble at home or abroad, the slightest injury to a single man in uniform is almost automatically the signal for a sabre charge, or the use of revolvers. Outside of extreme Socialist and Communist circles, no one regards the killing of, or serious injury to, a dozen or more rioters in such circumstances as unusual or undesirable. Authority has been defied, and this is the inevitable result. I am not concerned to say which is the best method, but I do feel the two cannot exist side by side; therefore I should regard it as deplorable if those nations who have large interests in Egypt found it necessary, in time of disturbance, to intervene with their armed forces because ours were not on the spot.

It may, of course, be urged that should serious anti-European outbreaks occur in Cairo or Alexandria, or even in places with a much smaller European population, such as Zagazig or Damanhur, it is inconceivable that, with a large force of British troops on the Canal, steps would not be taken to move some of them by the railway (if available) or by car and air to the succour of our own nationals and foreigners generally. But, in view of the clear language of Article 6 of the proposals made by the British Government in July last (which places responsibility on the Egyptian Government for the lives and property of foreigners), it would be difficult to do so until very grave events have occurred.

Again, to judge from past events, such outbreaks might gradual increase in violence; there might be isolated attacks on in viduals, followed by concerted attacks on the different Europe communities. An almost intolerable responsibility would placed directly on the British High Commissioner, and indirec on the British Government, to decide at what point they mu declare that the Egyptian Government had failed to carry out i treaty obligations, and that intervention by armed force in t internal affairs of Egypt was justified. Doubtless the Egypti Government would, whilst expressing its deep regret at the ou rages, continue to assert its ability to restore order eventuall even when the European quarters of Cairo and Alexandria w in flames. Meanwhile, one or more of the European Powe having large interests in Egypt, but not being, let it be remen bered, signatories of the Treaty, would hardly refrain from landi forces if they had ships of war in or near Egyptian ports. If th reached the scene of the trouble before the British troops, all t difficulties which I have enumerated would arise.

This question of the security of the foreign communiti demands far more attention than it has received so far from t public here. It must frankly be admitted that the existence these communities is an irritant to the Egyptians. The pr dominance of Europeans in the higher ranks of industry resented less than the fact that so many foreigners, especiall Greeks and Italians, are small shop-keepers, shop-assistants, an even artisans. Probably for this reason there have been in recer years much graver attacks upon Europeans in Egypt than the have ever been in India, even in the most disturbed periods, sinc the Mutiny. But the people are there, and must remain ther since no sane person has suggested they can be made to migrat in a body. Their presence vitiates, to a much greater exten than any other factor, the arguments of the school of the left tha we ought to treat Egypt like any other foreign country.

The protection of the Canal zone and the frontiers generall is, by itself, a far easier problem than this one of internal securit If it were possible to obtain real assurance that the Egyptia Government could and would protect foreigners, it should not b impossible to place cantonments in or near the Canal, where th troops could live in reasonable health and comfort. My war-tim experience convinced me that there are several places near th Canal healthier than Cairo. Unfortunately, however, it is impos sible to disentangle the two problems. I do not know, becaus the Government has given us little information on the subject how far the highest military opinion acquiesced in the offer t the Egyptian Government to remove the troops from Cairo an Alexandria. If there was acquiescence, it must have been base

purely on the suitability of the Canal zone as a strategic position for troops to defend Egypt from invasion and the Canal itself from damage or destruction, and also as a locality in which those troops could be stationed without injury to their health or morale. For not even the existence of troop-carrying aeroplanes and fast motor transport can convince me that a whole army corps on the Canal could as effectively protect foreigners in Cairo as a single brigade distributed between the barracks of Abbassia, Kasr el Nil, and the citadel in the town itself.

Article 11 of the proposals for a settlement contains a promise by the British Government to endeavour to secure the abolition of the Capitulations. There is no departure, I think, here from previous policy. Undoubtedly, in many respects, the Capitulations involve injustice to Egypt. On the other hand, the many pinpricks which foreigners have had to suffer from purely Egyptian institutions since 1922 make the task of abolition an act of doubtful safety on its merits, apart from the almost insuperable difficulty of obtaining the consent of other Powers. Though the Mixed Courts could be trusted to administer the law fairly, I think it is very doubtful if the Egyptian Parliament could equally be trusted to legislate for foreigners without any safeguards or restrictions.

The attitude which successive British Governments have taken up towards the question of the Soudan—the factor principally responsible for the breakdown of the recent negotiations—is too well known to require much exposition, but the reasons for that attitude merit very detailed consideration. This is especially true because the most potent reason of all, which is the military one, can obviously be handled more frankly by a private individual than by any Government in published despatches and memoranda. But both objectively and subjectively this aspect of the case is a delicate one for British Governments anxious to be friendly to Egypt. In these days, particularly, no one likes to be reminded of the possibility of a war; still less do they like to be told that, if there is one, their character and circumstances may together make them less than a match for their potential enemies. As in regard to the foreign communities, so in regard to this matter of the Soudan, the British Government is by no means actuated solely by selfish motives or the defence of the legitimate interests of the British Empire. The Soudanese themselves do not want any Egyptian influence in their country. Arabs and negroes alike have, rightly or wrongly, the same feeling of contempt and dislike for the Egyptians which the Pathans or Rajputs have for the Bengalis. Egypt grossly misgoverned the Soudan for many years. Even without the Mahdi's aid, there would probably have been a successful rebellion sooner or later against that misrule. The climate

of the Soudan does not suit most Egyptians, and few Egypti officers or officials were really happy there in the period from t reoccupation. All the while they looked longingly to the north to Masr'—as the exiled Parisian looks to Paris. To-day there an alarmingly large class of educated Soudanese competing f work in the limited area of official and business posts open to ther Very soon—if, indeed, it is not the case already—there will b real danger of a discontented mass of young men who have fail to secure a job owing to the fierce competition. No one who h followed the course of events in India can regard such a po tion with equanimity. Obviously an influx of Egyptians wou immensely enhance the competition and arouse the most dangero resentment.

The Soudan was reconquered by joint British and Egypti effort, involving loss of life and limb and the expenditure money by both countries. On this the Egyptian claim to partic pation in Soudanese affairs is mainly based. There can be n question that this claim is supported by every Egyptian in publ life, and by most of them with the sincere conviction that it is completely just one. I believe logic to be wholly against ther The direction, the initiative, and the organising power of th Soudanese campaign, which resulted in the reoccupation of tha country, came almost entirely from the British. We could, ha we chosen, with British, Indian, and West African troops, ha defeated the Khalifa without the use of a single Egyptian soldie True, we did not do so, and the cost to us would have bee greater, but that does not really affect the argument. Does any one, except an Egyptian, seriously believe the Egyptian Govern ment and the Egyptian army could have done the same thin without our aid? But the most powerful argument of all i refutation of Egyptian claims is the indisputable fact that th safety of Egypt from invasion depends upon a Soudan which either friendly, or prevented by superior force from attacking th sleek and rich north. The Soudan, under Mahdist rule, was mos unfriendly to Egypt, and only prevented by our presence on th Nile from sweeping down to the Mediterranean. To-day th Soudan is comparatively civilised, and peace is maintained b British authority. Our presence there insures Egypt, at no cos to herself, against the possibility of invasion on her most dangerou and exposed frontier. It is true that Egyptians set off this chea military security by fantastic fears that we may interfere our selves, or allow the Soudanese to interfere, with the Nile flood water in a way prejudicial to the prosperity, and even existence of Egypt. The steps which the British Government have take by the most definite and solemn pledge to remove this chime have proved so unavailing that one is driven to the disagreeab

conclusion that leading Egyptians use the argument merely as a tactical weapon in the controversy to alarm their credulous fellow-countrymen.

Supposing that a weak British Government in the future, controlled, let us imagine, largely by the Clyde group, yielded in full to Egyptian demands, and even went beyond them, spurred to do so by the 'League against Imperialism,' what would be the position which would thus arise? The Soudan would be evacuated, and the British troops and all British administrative influence (except in the case of a few individuals whose services the Egyptian Government might desire to retain) would be removed from Egypt. As one must give even an extreme left wing Socialist Government some credit for sanity, I should visualise, in such conditions, the Canal zone being handed over to a mixed gendarmerie (perhaps under the auspices of the League of Nations), who would, nominally at any rate, protect the Canal and the lives and water supply of its staff, as well as European employees, who at Ismailia and elsewhere form an administration in itself. There would, in other words, be a Suez Canal conclave in which we should have an interest as a European and colonial Power, but, apart from that, we should possess no more rights or influence in Egypt than we do in Turkey to-day. What would be the military effect on Egypt? Her raw and undeveloped, but virile, southern neighbour, the Soudan, would just have received her complete freedom. Mr. Buchanan, M.P. for Gorbals, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, himself bitterly opposed to war, as he had proved from 1914–1918, would, in conferring this independence on behalf of the British Government, express a fervent hope that Arabs and negroes alike in the Soudan, forgetting their ancient military traditions, would for ever eschew that hateful thing war. No doubt at first they would take his advice. Young Arabs and negroes, trained in the Gordon College, would be anxious to test their talents in higher branches of administration than had hitherto been open to them. I think many of them would do well, for the various Soudanese racial elements contain strong layers of probity and vitality. Soon, however, a cloud would appear. Even in the Soudan, with her small population, there is one of those racial problems which turn the hair of administrators and statesmen prematurely grey. The Soudan is ethnologically divided into Arab and negro strains, though, owing to former slavery and other causes, the two merge into each other in some localities. Nevertheless, there are whole tribes of pure Arab or negro origin. There has always been some rivalry and ill-feeling between the two races. This would be exacerbated by the struggle for place and power in the young State, with danger to its welfare.

The Soudan, as I have said, has a virile population not want in natural leaders. The circumstances would encourage such one to come forward. Let us imagine him as a man of mix Arab and negro race. He had received his education at Gordon College, visited in his youth Great Britain and France, well as Turkey and other Asiastic countries, been an officer in t Soudan Defence Force, and afterwards lent to the civil Admin tration as an inspector (a rank which corresponds, or used correspond, to a collector in India) in the southern province in t days of the British Administration. Thus he has had milita and administrative experience in addition to a good educatic and the advantage of contact with European and Asiastic cou tries. He joins a natural shrewdness and firm will to a r interest in and capacity for politics. Small wonder that he elected by acclamation the first President of the new repub He is confronted at once by all the signs of a slow but progressiv developing crisis. For years the putty that has filled in t crevices in the unity of the country (due to its bilateral rac character) has been the cry of 'The Soudan for the Soudane But by the act of the Right Honourable Mr. Maxton (immediat on his accession to office), in conferring complete self-governme on the Soudan, the putty has come out and the cracks are reveal There must be a new cry. Slowly, but surely, an external grie ance must be formed in the minds of the populace. Clearly it c be formed by developing over some years (since an immedi war is undesirable) the latent hostility and dislike against the oppressor of the country—the land of Egypt.

So the usual pinprinks of speeches and inspired articles appe until the President is ready to launch his torpedoes and tell t Egyptians that, unless the unfair fiscal treatment which is be shown to Soudanese goods is reversed, retaliation will take t form of interference with the Nile flood water. The Egypti Government indignantly repudiates the complaint, and, impel by the natural conclusion of the nation that at last fears h become actualities, and their irrigation water is in dang threatens in its turn a recourse to arms. Let us suppose that t action of the League of Nations proves unfruitful and hostilit commence. What would be the strategical position of Egyp Unquestionably, I think, a precarious one, since the Bedouins a Arabs generally in the desert on her eastern and western fronti would almost certainly see an opportunity for mischief a pillage by raids, if not by actual invasion. Nor would the dan end there. It should not be forgotten that prior to the war t Asiatic Red Sea littoral opposite the Egyptian coast from Gulf of Suez to the Soudan boundary was at any rate loosely h by the Turkish Empire, which precluded attacks from t

ter upon Egypt unless the two countries were at war. More-
, the Hussein family were then Sherifs of Mecca. To-day a
etent statesman and fine military leader, Ibn Saud, rules
of Western Arabia, and the northernmost posts of his
ubtable Wahhabite warriors look out across the narrow seas
rds the Egyptian coast. In the Sinaitic peninsular, I think,
erritories claimed (even though it may not be administered)
Egypt and the King of Mecca lie side by side for several
ared miles. It would, indeed, be irresponsible and improper
ggest that Ibn Saud himself would go to war with Egypt, but
ne can tell what his successor may do. Moreover, even the
erful Ibn Saud might not be able to control his tribesmen.
t is, at least, conceivable that in the event of an Egyptian-
anese war, in addition to raids from Arabs nearer home, the
otian Government would be faced with the even greater
ace of organised and concerted attacks by camelry who had
up *viâ* the Gulf of Akaba to the Gulf of Suez and had
nselves and their camels ferried across the latter piece of
r. To cross the Suez Canal would not, of course, be open to
n in the circumstances which I contemplate, because of the
ive to which I have already referred. But the international
would not extend south of the town of Suez, and the British
y or Air Force could not intervene in the Red Sea, because
hould have relinquished our military rights and obligations
gypt and the Soudan. The League of Nations means no more
ly to the Wahhabites than it does to the Afghans or the
bitants of Turkestan. I doubt if it ever will. Egypt to them
esents a land bursting with sin and prosperity, in the looting
hich you would acquire merit in heaven and riches on earth;
use it is inhabited by a people who are almost worse than
els, since, whilst paying lip-service of devotion to Allah and
his prophet Mahomet, they have discarded every real tenet
e faith. A rigid Wahhabite of the desert looks on an educated
otian as a pious Puritan backwoodsman in Massachusetts
ed on a courtier at St. James's in the reign of Charles II.
t may be urged that the possession of aeroplanes and armoured
by Egypt which, assuming her complete dependence upon
wn defence efforts, she would possess would more than
pensate her for any superior individual fighting power which
enemies possessed. The desert raiders would have neither,
the Soudan, in the first decade of her independence, would be
ely to be able to afford many. I am not a military expert,
hesitate to enter a field of discussion which is already the
eground of air and ground force enthusiasts, not to mention
protagonists of mechanisation *versus* brave, capable, and
led mobile riflemen. Still, the subject has so big a bear-

ing on the whole question that I venture to give a personal experience.

I saw a great deal of desert warfare from 1916–1918 with both the British and Arab forces. In the latter year I was with a mixed force of Arab, Indian, French, and Egyptian troops approximating in numbers to a British brigade. This force, commanded by an Arab officer of courage and experience with the staff aid of Colonels Lawrence and Joyce and a few other British officers, was attacking the Hedjaz railway north of Deraa one morning, when two or three aeroplanes from that town came out and bombed us. When they had dropped their bombs they returned to refill, and altogether, in the space of an hour, let go about sixty small bombs. We had no aeroplanes, and our only reply, which was wholly ineffective, was from four small mountain guns. Our casualties were about thirty men hit, of whom, I think, three were killed. During their air bombardment our advance was held up and the force scattered in irregular groups over a wide area. The camels were barracked (*i.e.*, made to kneel down) and the men sought what shelter they could, the colour of the one and clothes of the other merging into the brownish yellow ground. At the end of about an hour the enemy, who had been quite unprepared for our attack, evidently exhausted their available supply of bombs. The advance then continued, and, after a fight with a blockhouse, the line was crossed and part of it blown up. The enemy planes appeared later to fight a single British machine which was coming to us with a message, but did us no harm. By the rules of the game as stated by some air experts we ought to have been demoralised and dispersed. On the contrary, save for the unfortunate casualties, the raid did us no harm and gave us a much-needed rest and the chance of getting a breakfast (even if a somewhat agitating one !) after a hard night trek. In the circumstances I have contemplated the Egyptian air force would have to deal with dozens of raiding and invading small bodies of camelry over hundreds of miles of front. I doubt if they would be more successful than the Turks were on the occasion in question. In regard to armoured cars, while I admit their immense value in certain circumstances, an experience which I had in one in action in the height of summer in the desert makes me very chary of saying they are an effective bar to Arab raiders.

I have dealt with the question of the Soudan at such length because, so long as all Egyptian Governments maintain the same illogical and unalterable standpoint, it is a barrier of steel and reinforced concrete against any adjustment. Egypt cannot defend herself unaided against a hostile Soudan, with all the other embarrassments which would follow. A friendly Soudan postulates either the continuance of British administration, or a self-

governing Soudan restrained by British influence from interference with her neighbour. Having regard to the present tendency of administration in purely Asiatic and African countries (I mean where there are few British settlers) for which we are responsible, the latter status is likely to follow within a generation. How fatal it would be meanwhile, in order to titivate the *amour propre* of Egyptian politicians, to allow them to send Egyptian officials and soldiers to a country where they are not wanted, which they do not like, and from which assuredly they would be turned out when self-government comes! Even if there were not grave doubts about Egypt's judicial claim to participation in Soudanese government on the grounds of a share in reconquest, the claim is nullified by every aspect of the principle of self-determination.

How far is it true to say with the school of the right that we have 'surrendered' in Egypt in recent years? Strategically our position, with more troops than in pre-war days and our hold on Palestine, is stronger than ever. In imports of merchandise our relative position is weaker than in pre-war days, but such a situation, unhappily for us, can be paralleled in most countries of the world, and it is doubtful whether it can be attributed in Egypt to political events. We still have a big share in Egypt's banking, finance, and carrying trade. We have certainly surrendered to a very large degree our influence over the internal administration of the country. It is undoubtedly sad to know that a number of highly competent and loyal British civil servants have had their careers terminated whilst still in their prime, even though they have, in most cases, received fair compensation. But since Lord Cromer's time until 1922 the British element in the Egyptian services grew more rapidly than some impartial observers believed to be desirable. Moreover, in the last twenty years the demand for British civil servants and administrators in the colonial Empire has more than balanced, I think, the decrease of the British element in the Indian and Egyptian Civil Services. Having regard to the effect of heavy taxation upon the class in this country from which such men are mainly drawn, in causing its members to enter commercial life in the hope of more substantial rewards than service under the Crown offers it is at least disputable if the supply is more than equal to the demand. Thus the argument that, in allowing the Egyptian Civil Service to be closed to young Englishmen, we have curtailed the public school and university boy's chances of a career is of doubtful economic merit, even if it were not deeply resented by Egyptians.

Unquestionably the administration, especially the irrigation service, has deteriorated under purely Egyptian management. Some, indeed, say that bribery, corruption and intimidation are

as rampant as they were in pre-occupation days. The fellaheen are suffering, and will suffer, from the change. But if they were as grateful to us as they ought to have been, they should have shown it by thwarting the efforts of their politicians to drive Englishmen out of the service. They cannot have their cake and eat it. Probably they will be governed no better, and no worse, by these politicians than the peasant class is governed in Turkey or in Persia. The apparent inability, under indigenous auspices, to provide clean and pure government is not confined to countries bordering the southern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean.

Apparently the same symptoms are visible in Spain and Portugal. I have no doubt that, if asked to do so, the British Government could for a term of years provide greatly improved administration in Spain, but no one in his senses suggests we should do so. Instead we hold Gibraltar. There is some parallel in the two cases.

Comparisons, not favourable to us, are sometimes made between the great success of French effort in Algiers and recent events in Egypt. There is no real parallel. Algiers, to all intents and purposes, is a part of France. For reasons which are familiar to all who have studied the racial elements and climatic conditions of North-West Africa and the Mediterranean coast of France, there is an affinity between France and Algiers which renders social intercourse and interchange of population (as witnessed by the number of Algerians in and around Marseilles) possible to a degree which is clearly forbidden between a Nordic people like ourselves and the Egyptians.

Lest what I have said in this article may be wounding to any Egyptian readers of *The Nineteenth Century*, I would like to make clear that I have throughout been countering, with what I believe to be fair weapons, certain contentions which their Government has put forward. The nation itself has many good qualities. One of them, a most competent and hard-working peasant population, we in this country may well envy. There is, too, a hospitality and sense of humour among Egyptians which is not always conspicuous in lands further east. But these qualities, while they should make for understanding and goodwill between us, do not justify by themselves the pretensions of Egyptian policy.

WINTERTON.

THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK

UNDER this same title Mrs. Hamilton contributed to the May number of *The Nineteenth Century* a spirited and engagingly written article, which her colleagues would do well to consult when they come to write their next election address. There they will find a vigorous defence of all that the Labour Government have done during their first twelve months of administration ; plausible, if specious, excuses for all that they have failed to accomplish ; and forcible, if familiar, criticism of their Conservative predecessors. But with regard to the outlook they will not find a word, save in one vague sentence at the end of the article, where it is admitted that the sky is darker than it has been since the end of the war, but suggested that it is 'shot with a hope that is more authentic, more realistic, and more intelligent than has crossed it during the intervening years of illusion.' I do not quarrel with Mrs. Hamilton for cautiously refraining from prophecy, but I would suggest that she might have found another title for her article.

What strikes Mrs. Hamilton as most remarkable in the altered conditions produced by the last election is the increased interest taken in politics by men and women in all quarters. She was not herself, unfortunately, a member of the last House of Commons, and she is a member of the present one, so perhaps she will permit one whose position is the reverse of hers to assure her that his experience has been different. It is impossible to be dogmatic upon such a subject. Personal experience is the only guide, and such experience must be affected by chance, by circumstances, and by prejudice. It may, however, not unfairly be asserted that when we are in the House of Commons we are apt to imagine that everybody is very interested in our doings, that the Palace of Westminster is the centre of the world, and that our friends and acquaintances will be grateful to us for recounting to them the latest political gossip ; when, on the other hand, we have ceased to belong to it, the proportions of that building dwindle in our eyes, the chatter of the lobbies grows faint in our ears, and, by some well-appointed law of compensation, we learn to hold a lower opinion of what we have lost.

But not so low, I must admit, as to prevent us from using every endeavour to recover it.

The reason for the altered attitude of most people towards politics, which Mrs. Hamilton has noticed and I have missed, is, in her opinion, to be found in the fact that politics are no longer dull; dulness in politics, as in life, she asserts, is deadly, and she compares the Baldwin *régime* to the rule of King Log. Here we are brought up against a difference of attitude towards political questions which is fundamental, and which, I am afraid, will divide Mrs. Hamilton and myself as long as we live. She holds that dulness in politics is deadly—deadly, I suppose she means, to the State. I am convinced that politics ought to be dull; that the nation which has no history is happy; that the quiet, eventless years are those in which a nation gathers strength, and prosperity and wisdom; and that it is excitement in politics, not dulness, that leads to death. So far as I remember, in the fable to which she has chosen to allude, the frogs, it is true, grew tired of the dull reign of King Log, but heartily wished him back again during the more exciting administration of King Stork, for they found, what many more intelligent electorates have discovered since, that even stagnation is better than destruction, and that it is pleasanter to be bored than to be eaten alive.

'Socialism, *as a bogey*, is thoroughly out of date,' writes Mrs. Hamilton. The statement would be more true if the words in italics were omitted, or if 'as a practical policy' were put in their place. That the present Government has realised this fact is abundantly plain, for not only have they refrained from introducing any frankly socialistic measure, but they have not even come forward with a proposal to which the epithet 'socialistic' could be applied with as much justification as it could to the Electricity Bill that was introduced by the Conservative Party.

Whether Socialism is out of date as a bogey is another question. I suppose that the word 'bogey' means something which is unreal, but of which people are afraid. I myself have always been inclined to regard Socialism as something of a bogey, or rather as a bad dream, which, in this country, could never come true. It seemed to me that there were three very adequate lines of defence: the first was the good judgment of the leaders of the Labour Party; the second was the power of delay still exercised by the House of Lords; the third was the commonsense of the people. So far the first line has proved sufficient; and it is likely to remain so. There have been many Socialist Governments in many countries, but nowhere, save in Russia, has a sincere attempt been made to transform a Capitalist into a Socialist State.

As this fact comes to be realised, as the electorate learns that

our Labour leaders are not remorseless Bolsheviks, but rather woolly-headed, weak-minded, well-meaning Radicals of the old school, the bogey of Socialism certainly will forfeit its power of frightening, but the ideal of Socialism will also lose its power to attract. The effect upon English politics of the simultaneous destruction of what has been for some a nightmare of terror, but for others a beacon of hope, is a question that really does provoke speculation and profoundly affects the political outlook.

The first effect that might be expected would be a genuine movement from the Liberal Party towards, not coalition, but assimilation with Labour. Evidence that nobody, except a few of the noisier members of the I.L.P. who are Communists in all but name, really believes in Socialism in our time should incline hesitating Liberals, who had been terrified by tales from Russia, to throw in their lot whole-heartedly with one of the only two parties that are ever likely to hold office, and thus escape their present thraldom to a leader whom they all distrust. The defection of the present Attorney-General so soon after the last election was open to criticism upon the ground of precipitation, but it was, in fact, the logical and not disloyal action of a sincere Radical who was prepared to fight for the Liberal Party so long as there was a Liberal Party worth fighting for. Treachery is largely a matter of timing. The first to leave a sinking ship are notoriously the rats, although their action is believed to be due to better information, superior acumen, and clearer foresight than are possessed by human mariners. When in course of time it becomes evident, even to the latter, that the vessel is doomed, nobody blames the passengers, nor finally the crew and captain, for taking to the boats.

At the last election Mr. Lloyd George hurled into the fray, with his accustomed prodigality, the whole of his inspiring energy, which is his form of genius, and, it is said, the greater part of his collected money bags, which are his form of political munitions. A Liberal, wavering towards the left, had good excuse for believing that the chance which had come for the revival of his party might be the last one, but it was certainly a chance. But on the morrow of the election he could realise that the last die had been thrown, and had been thrown in vain. Liberals who then decided, like Sir William Jowitt, to join the real party of the left, but, unlike him, postponed taking any action in the matter, will not incur the same opprobrium when in due course they follow his example. And it is surprising that more have not followed it already. One of the main reasons for the comparatively meagre dribble of Liberals into Labour during the last twelve months lies in the fact that there is small inducement, save office, for a Liberal member to change his party between

elections. A Liberal member is in some ways the envy of his fellows. If he wants to speak, he usually can do so, because some attempt is made to hear a spokesman from each party in turn, and, as the Liberals are less than a quarter as numerous as either of the other parties, each Liberal gets more than four times as good a chance of being heard. Not only, however, can the Liberal speak when he likes, but he can say what he pleases. With a smug assumption of benign impartiality he can damn the Socialists one day and the Conservatives the next, and on each occasion be sure of enthusiastic support from one side or the other, who will hail him as a broadminded Daniel come to justice. Finally, he may choose his own lobby and flaunt his own Whips, a privilege which the voting records of the present Parliament prove that he has abundantly exercised. So the Liberal member is a very happy if rather contemptible creature, who will not willingly barter his freedom for the bonds and gags of real Government supporters or the heavy burden of real opposition.

It was from the unsuccessful rather than from the successful Liberal candidates that the Labour Party had to expect the larger number of recruits, and many rumours have been current as to mass movements of this nature that were likely to take place. But rumours they remain. Nor is it impossible to suggest reasons why Liberal candidates hesitate to transfer their allegiance. In the first place, without the slightest desire to suggest discreditable motives, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the majority of such candidates are not very rich men. At the last election they were presented with a blank cheque upon the bank of Ali Baba, and could well afford to take a month's holiday at somebody else's expense, during which they could give free vent to their rhetorical impulses and support causes in which they sincerely believed. Nor had they to fear—those of them who were professional men or engaged in commerce—that their former clients or customers would in future look elsewhere for advice or for supplies rather than employ the advocates of revolution, the enemies of hearth and home. Liberalism, if discredited, was still respectable. It had an air of decayed gentility about it, of which the most timorous could not be afraid. But, as they are well aware, there awaits them in the Labour Party no such substantial financial backing, and no such venerable guarantee of constitutional reliability. Many of those who stood light-heartedly as Liberals at the last election would be taking their lives, or at least their livelihoods, in their hands if they stood as Socialists at the next. Labour Party finances seem to be controlled with admirable economy, and the tried veterans and the working-class candidates will obviously have first claim upon them. The feeling, although it is dying,

still persists that the Socialist is an enemy of society, and those who rely upon the support of society to make their livings must think twice before they brand themselves with what is still a stigma.

There is another reason why Liberals are not throwing themselves into the arms of the Labour Party. They find, to their astonishment, that those arms are not so widely open as they had anticipated. When it was a question of capturing the best brain at the Bar for the only party that has ever suffered from a lack of lawyers, the arms not unnaturally flew open to their widest possible extent. But when they are faced by a melancholy procession of high-browed gentlemen in black, whose only recommendation is that they have lost an election, and whose only qualification is acquaintance with the economics of John Stuart Mill, the arms are apt to remember that they should be in shirtsleeves and to fold themselves rigidly upon a bosom wherein still beats a proletarian heart. Having accounted for the delay that has taken place in the transference of Liberal loyalty, I would not be taken to infer that that transference need be further or unduly prolonged. I have tried only to show that it has not been, and will not be, so simple a matter as it might at first sight appear. The majority of those who call themselves Liberals to-day are Liberals for the reason which in the eyes of Conservatives is the most respectable—they are Liberals because they always have been, or because their fathers were before them. No true Tory can fail to reverence such desperate loyalty to a lost cause. But there comes a time when the best of causes is no longer tenable, and when continued devotion to it becomes nothing but sentimental absurdity. We can all admire the Jacobite who fought for the Old or for the Young Pretender, but we can only despise or pity the members of the White Rose League who continue to do homage to some minor German royalty as the rightful heir of the Stuarts.

So far as the political outlook is concerned, the most important event that has taken place this year is the secret agreement concluded between Mr. Lloyd George and the Government. The terms of it we do not know, for both Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald are experts in secret diplomacy, but the existence of it is a patent fact to the simplest tyro in politics. There were whispers of intrigues, there were rumours of agreement, there was a little luncheon party, and then Mr. Lloyd George, who had pulled every string that he commanded to defeat the Government upon the Coal Bill before Christmas, informed the House of Commons that the Coal Bill must go through at all costs, lest its failure should endanger the success of the Naval Conference. When so astute a parliamentarian is content to

make himself a figure of fun, we may be sure he is not doing it for nothing. Further evidence of the hidden deal was revealed at the by-election in West Fulham. First the Liberals withdrew their candidate in order to improve the prospects of the Socialist. But this was not enough. Certain independent Liberals having dared to suggest that votes should be given for Capitalism rather than Socialism, no less eminent a Liberal than Professor Ramsay Muir was compelled to mount a platform paid for by Socialists in the hope—as it proved, a vain one—of persuading the electors to vote for the new allies of his new master.

What are the Liberal Party going to get out of the deal in which their leader has involved them? If they imagine that the present Parliament is going to pass a new electoral measure, I venture to prophesy—a very dangerous thing to do in politics—that they will find themselves deceived. Such a Bill would consume months of parliamentary time which a Government that is already being badgered by the trade unionists upon the one side and the educationalists upon the other could not hope to find during the next eighteen months. And what would their own supporters, not one of whom cares a rap about proportional representation or the alternative vote, think of a Government that wasted its time upon doctrinaire details while the figures of unemployment were soaring up? To a Bill for the redistribution of seats for the benefit of the Liberal and Labour Parties the same objection would apply, besides the unpopularity that would attach to such a palpable job. For what other prospective blessings have the Liberals bartered their independence? A few months more of parliamentary life for their three score members? Many of them certainly know that they are under sentence of death, but I should have thought that every one of them would have preferred to have marched to the stake as a Protestant martyr rather than be led to the slaughter-house as a patient ox.

There remains one possible explanation of the mystery. The next election may result in a tie. The steady trend of the Conservative Party towards a reformed fiscal system has destroyed the last hope cherished by Liberal leaders of creeping back into office under the wing of a Conservative coalition. It may be, therefore, that in the not impossible event of the Labour-Liberal majority being considerably diminished, but not wiped out, as the result of the next election, Mr. Lloyd George has his claim already pegged out, his seat upon the Treasury Bench assured. In that case it remains only to be seen whether he can fulfil his part of the bargain, whether the Liberals in the country will continue as docile as they have proved hitherto, and whether, having so complacently submitted to being bought by their

·, they will as meekly allow themselves to be sold. Such a ion Government, if it ever became a fact, would prove of duration. Astonishing as are the tergiversations of politics, not believe that Mr. David Kirkwood would ever sit a silent orter of a Government that included Mr. Lloyd George. did, then Mr. Maxton would really have something to cry :. The left wing, who are already restive, would certainly and the country, having to choose between a Ramsay Donald-Lloyd George coalition supported by an independent nunist Party on the one hand and a united Conservative on the other, would undoubtedly prefer the latter.

ut, it may be fairly questioned, would the Conservative be then united, and are they united to-day? Upon all r issues of politics, save one, there is no doubt that agreement among the leaders and throughout the ranks of the party. ncident of the United Empire Party is closed, and its leader, perhaps too eager to dictate policy and to expel heretics, fair, if he can keep those tendencies under control, to become ynamic force within a party that has too often lacked, and easily suspicious of any manifestation of, dynamic energy. ay now fairly be stated that the whole Conservative Party of the same trend of economic thought. In that house are many mansions, but the apartment of the complete enite has been converted into a padded cell. Rational pro- on for our industries and closer communion with our Empire rinciples which must be held by every member of the present ervative Party. Which industries most need safeguarding, mount of the duty to be applied, the exact steps that should ken before an Imperial Conference, the exact steps that d follow it, and the amount of time that will be required, , surely, are matters where individual opinions may be ed to differ, if they agree upon the end in view.

he outlook, therefore, is more favourable for the Conservative than for either of the others. The Government, as the ections show, is losing credit every day, and losing it far rapidly than was to be expected, yet they have still to oach all the most difficult parts of their programme and still al with the most critical of Imperial problems, the question dia. They cannot much longer postpone the introduction Trade Disputes Bill, which, if they are as good as their word, ave as its object to legalise the general strike and to rearrange ollection of the political levy in such a way as to enable the union bosses to squeeze, worry, bully, or intimidate Con- tive and Liberal members of their unions into subscribing their wages towards paying the expenses of Labour members arliament. Such a measure must be produced within the

next twelve months. If the Liberal Party vote for it, the last rags of decency will have been stripped from them, and they will never be able to hold up their heads again. If they vote against it, the Government will have been defeated on a vital issue and a General Election must take place.

There is a school of thought—and many who belong to it must command our respect—which holds that it is better that the Labour or the Liberal Party should have to settle so grave a problem as that of the future of India, because so long as the Conservative Party is out of office the Government of the day can rely upon a loyal Opposition. Either this is a fallacious argument, or if it be true, then it must follow that the safest plan would be for the Conservatives to remain in opposition for ever, as we can never tell when questions of Imperial or foreign affairs may not arise in which the assistance of a loyal Opposition would be desirable. It were surely as sensible to argue that if there were one man in a platoon suspected of treachery or cowardice it would be a good plan to put him in command, in order that his more reliable comrades might support him if he behaved properly, and in order to render it impossible for him to shoot his officer in the back.

I do not share this opinion, nor do I believe it to be a blessing that grave issues upon which much may depend should be settled by a weak Government with no majority and Ministers who lack experience. The Conservative Party need not be afraid of the next election, whether it come soon or late, nor should they seek to bolster up a tottering Ministry in order to lay upon it a weight of responsibility that it is ill fitted to bear. A loyal Opposition is a useful asset, but far better is a competent and courageous Government with an independent majority.

DUFF COOPER.

THREE IMPERIAL PRESS CONFERENCES

It was in the summer of 1909 that the idea came to fruition of bringing together the representative newspaper men of the Empire to confer in London. There is really not very much that newspaper men throughout the Empire have in common as newspaper men. The distribution of news by cablegram and wireless is certainly of universal concern to them, also the question of paper supply, but it is surprising how comparatively few subjects there are to be discussed affecting newspapers of the Empire generally when Empire newspaper men get together. Still, from other points of view, the first Imperial Press Conference was a wonderful success, as were also the second Conference held in Ottawa in 1920 and the third in Melbourne in 1926. They were Empire gatherings of considerable Imperial significance. They were representative of the people who do much to create public opinion in every part of the Empire. In these democratic days Governments and Parliaments are but the creatures of public opinion, and those who form and guide public opinion are doing work of the greatest importance. The forming and guiding of public opinion is certainly not less important than the work of Governments that merely give effect to that opinion. The gatherings undoubtedly helped to a better understanding of Imperial problems by those who controlled the Press of the Empire. In other words, the Conferences helped mutually to educate the educators of Empire public opinion.

At the first Conference there were fifty-six overseas delegates in all, including men from Canada, India, the West Indies, Straits Settlements, Burma, Ceylon, South Africa, New Zealand, and Australia. Most Pressmen avoid public notoriety. They are of retiring disposition, and the overseas delegates were overwhelmed with the attentions they received and the public and private hospitality extended to them. The late King Edward was specially gracious. At their first meeting at the Waldorf Hotel, which was their headquarters, the first duty was to draft a telegram to His Majesty expressing fervent loyalty and good wishes towards himself and his family. Promptly, in reply, came a telegram of thanks from the King hoping that the

delegates would enjoy their stay in England. Subsequently, a garden party given to them at Marlborough House by Prince and Princess of Wales, King Edward and the Que asked to meet the delegates personally, all of whom, with th wives, were then individually presented. Later, the delega were the guests of King Edward and the Queen at Wind Castle.

The overseas delegates were shown all phases of Engl life. The Government gave them a banquet; the Lord Ma entertained them at luncheon at the Mansion House; a lunche at the Houses of Parliament with the Speaker in the chair v given them by literary and journalistic members of both Hous The Labour members of the Commons were their hosts afternoon tea on the terrace. They were invited to a milita review at Aldershot and a naval review at Spithead. They w taken for a motoring tour, with visits to Coventry, Warwi Stratford-on-Avon, Manchester, the Ship Canal, and Sheffie A short stay in Scotland comprised visits to Glasgow, t Trossachs, and Edinburgh. A day was spent at Oxford Univ sity, where they had luncheon with the Chancellor, Lord Curz The originator and organiser of the Conference, Mr. Ha Brittain (now Sir Harry Brittain), made certain that the de gates saw English life as it was in King Edward's time. Soc gatherings, politics, industries, and commerce were all include

Perhaps the most impressive sight that the delegates witness was the naval review at Portsmouth. They were the guests the Admiralty and were entertained on board the *Dreadnou* There were eighteen miles of battleships, cruisers, destroye scouts, and submarines. The fleet was in charge of Admi Sir John Fisher, then the First Sea Lord. Nelson's old flagsh the *Victory*, was gaily beflagged and recalled memories of lo ago. When the special train that took the delegates fr London reached Portsmouth, the steamship *Volcano* was waiti to take them along the lines of the fleet. A few bluejack attended to them. No one met them officially. A quiet almost shabbily, dressed elderly gentleman in civilian cloth unnoticed by any of the delegates, unostentatiously boarded t steamer. As the *Volcano* went along the lines the delega consulted copies of a plan that had been supplied to them showi the position of each vessel of the fleet and giving particulars the names, tonnage, guns, etc. A member of the overseas par the youthful daughter of one of the delegates, was reading alo and, for the benefit of those near, giving particulars of the sh she pointed out.

'Excuse me,' said the old gentleman, 'you are reading t plan wrongly.'

He then gave the names of the ships passed, mentioned many details about them, referred to the careers of some of the vessels, and answered various questions about them.

'You seem to know a lot about the ships,' remarked the young lady.

'Oh,' he replied, 'not so very much.'

'Indeed you do,' was the response.

'Well,' he answered with a strange smile, 'I don't know as much about them as I'd like to, but I'm always trying to learn more.'

The young lady, who seemed to think she had discovered some Portsmouth journalistic authority, insistently went on: 'And what have you to do with the ships?'

'Well,' he remarked, 'I happen to have charge of them. My name is Fisher.'

Opportunities were provided the delegates for meeting at private houses the leading statesmen and most of the notable people of England. Mr. Lloyd George was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and parties of three or four delegates were invited to breakfast each morning with him and his wife and family at his official residence in Downing Street opposite the Foreign Office, where the Conference was held.

Most of the great political leaders addressed the Conference, which lasted some days. The one thing that struck us was that the Conservatives especially were impressed with the danger of a great European war caused by Germany's scheme for aggrandisement. Though not in so many words, yet the message that the homeland gave to us to take back was, 'Keep your eye on Germany.'

At the banquet given by the British Press to the overseas delegates at White City a feature of the evening was Lord Rosebery's great 'Welcome Home' speech that has now become an English classic. It was perhaps his best effort as an orator. A strange story went the rounds of London regarding the speech. It was said that the promoters of the Conference specially desired to get the finest orator of the Empire to deliver a welcome address to the delegates. He complied, but later, as he thought over what he should say, he changed his mind and told them that on reconsideration he would rather not do it. They endeavoured to get him again to change his mind, but without avail. Finally, the late Lord Burnham approached King Edward, and His Majesty was sufficiently interested to speak to Lord Rosebery on the matter. Lord Rosebery, feeling that it was a royal command, tried to excel all his previous efforts. And he did. None who heard him can forget the attractive diction, the touches of humour, the charm and foresight of his utterances.

Lord Rosebery put the ominous international position as it then existed in the plainest language. 'There is a hush in Europe, a hush in which one might almost hear a leaf fall to the ground, and yet,' he added, 'there never was in the history of the world so threatening and overpowering a preparation for war.' He went on to issue this significant warning:

> Take back to your young Dominions across the seas this message and this impression—that some personal duty and responsibility for national defence rests on every man and every citizen of this Empire. Yes, gentlemen, take that message back with you. Tell your people—if they can believe it—the deplorable way into which Europe is relapsing into militarism and the pressure that is put upon this little England to defend itself, its liberties and yours.

Lord Roberts, then seventy-seven years old, was even more prophetic when addressing the Conference. I can see now the old warrior—short in stature, but an erect, soldierly, well-proportioned and commanding figure. With his face keen and his eyes sharp and alert, he was the embodiment of mental and physical energy, despite his wrinkled face and grey hairs. He stood up to address us, looking as if he had something definite and highly important to tell. And he had. 'A shot fired in the Balkan Peninsula,' said he, 'might produce an explosion which would change the fortunes of every remotest corner of the Empire.' These words were uttered five years before 'a shot fired in the Balkan Peninsula,' at Sarajevo, precipitated a war in which 'every remotest corner of the Empire' was engaged for four anxious years in a life or death struggle to maintain their freedom.

Next to the speech of Lord Roberts the most notable utterance made at the Conference was that of Mr. Amery, then one of the British delegates. The discussion was on the question of Empire defence. Mr. W. T. Stead and others had ably put forward the case for those who were inclined to oppose heavy expenditure on defence on the ground that it tended to provoke war. Mr. Amery, in a short speech of wonderful power, rebutted these arguments. There was no one who seemed to have a better conception of Germany's designs and Germany's strength.

Sir Edward Grey, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and now Lord Grey of Fallodon, was also remarkably prophetic. It was at a House of Commons luncheon to the delegates. No seats were allotted. Ministers and private members, notables and 'nobodies' were mixed up higgledy-piggledy. An Australian delegate found himself sitting beside Sir Edward Grey, who asked many questions about Australia. He wanted to know 'what would Australia do if Britain were in death grips with a

n Power or a combination of foreign Powers?' He was that she would do what she did during the Boer War, and in proportion to population there were fewer pro-Boers in ralia than in Great Britain. Then the Australian said that verage man in Australia who watched the warship building petition going on between Britain and Germany thought ain should not allow it to continue. The action of Britain as provocative as would be the massing of troops on a tier in order to menace an adjacent country. Britain could h Germany's fleet, whilst Germany's army would be helpless nst England. Why not say to Germany, 'If you go on hip building, and thus menace England, we will regard it as stile act and take extreme measures.' It seemed but right. ir Edward listened patiently. He went to a lot of pains to fully. He said that that aspect was not overlooked, and ad strongly opposed the view expressed, and the Cabinet upheld him. Nothing should be done in the way indicated rce Germany to limit her shipbuilding programme.

ermany has as much right as we have to build a fleet, and when loes come, if it comes, then we must be certain that Britain is in the Britain would not be right in saying that no other country ought ild a fleet as strong as her own. The next war will be decided by c opinion and many nations will be drawn into it, and we do not to antagonise the rest of the world. It is true that Germany's would be helpless against Britain whilst Britain held command of eas, but she would probably invade France, and a European contion would ensue for which Britain would be blamed. When war it will probably be world-wide, and unless we be in the right we ot have the world on our side.

wise and statesmanlike these words were subsequent events ed.

ome of the English Pressmen did not love each other in . One delegate found himself at a large public banquet ng between two distinguished journalists, both now dead. neighbour on his left whispered, 'It is most unfortunate you should have to sit beside that terrible bounder on your . He is an appallingly conceited individual who never lets ne talk but himself. I haven't spoken to him for years.' r, his right-hand neighbour, who was a knight, remarked in voice, 'What a shame to put you beside such an awful ore as that fellow on your left. Thank Heaven, we don't !' Both were extremely talkative, so much so that the n of their animosity was that neither, evidently, was ared to hear the other talk. They each wanted to do all the ng!

he second Imperial Press Conference was delayed by the

Great War. The designs of Germany were revealed, and what we were warned of by Lord Roberts, Mr. Amery, and others had actually happened. The Empire and the world were deluged in blood. The second Conference was not held until eleven years after the first. At a meeting of the Australian section of the Empire Press Union held in Sydney I was appointed one of the Australian delegates to represent the Commonwealth. The number of delegates from Australia to each Conference was fourteen.

When in London on their way to Canada many delegates again met Lord Northcliffe. I was one of two delegates appointed at the first Conference by the Australian delegates to represent them on a sub-committee to frame the constitution and rules of the Empire Press Union, an organisation which the first Conference decided to establish. The more we saw of him at that time, the more we were charmed. Somewhat careless in his dress, at times almost shabby, but boyish in appearance and handsome, he talked little and was a good listener, always anxious to hear the views of others. With his firmly closed lips and Napoleonic face, he gave the impression that he possessed an immense store of reserve power. The sub-committee, which numbered about fourteen or fifteen members, had several meetings in the Savoy Hotel. Lord Northcliffe was a most regular attendant. Though an extremely busy man, he never missed a meeting, and he always arrived punctually. Controlling as he did so many newspapers, he should be more concerned in the new organisation than anyone present, but he had the least to say of those present. In fact, he only spoke once. It was when Mr. (afterwards Sir) Arthur Pearson attended and took the chair as chairman of the executive committee. Mr. Pearson and Lord Northcliffe were old newspaper rivals, but Mr. Pearson had been very ill—looked it—and was getting blind. Immediately the proceedings began Lord Northcliffe rose, and in a delightfully happy speech expressed his pleasure at seeing Mr. Pearson well enough to attend. The genuine warmth and friendly feeling that was displayed by the two towards each other caused surprise amongst some of the journalists, who only knew them as keen antagonists.

The Northcliffe of 1909 was quiet and seemingly shy and retiring, but the Northcliffe of 1920 appeared to us to be a different man altogether. He invited some of the overseas journalists who were on their way to Canada to visit *The Times* Office, where they were shown round the literary, mechanical, and other departments. In appearance he had grown coarse and bulky, whilst in manner he was talkative, self-assertive, impatient, and almost aggressive. He did not want to listen to others, but to talk himself.

Most of the British delegates to the Imperial Press Conference, as well as many of the overseas delegates, voyaged together on the C.P.C.S. *Victorian* from Liverpool across the Atlantic. There were a number of notable newspaper people on board, and they got to know each other intimately. There were several of the veterans of the first Conference, including the genial Sir Harry Brittain, as energetic and bright as ever, and Sir Gilbert Parker—novelist, journalist, traveller, and parliamentarian. A Canadian by birth, Sir Gilbert produced his first play in Australia. *The Times* was represented by another Canadian, Sir Campbell Stuart. Sir Roderick Jones, of Reuter's, and his newly married wife were also of the party. A most attractive delegate was Colonel Sir Arthur Holbrook, M.P. Though seventy years of age, in his ways he was the youngest of the travellers. He was the instigator of all the dances amongst the delegates, and he danced every dance. No matter how late the hour, he always wanted the dancing to be continued. The family record was remarkable. He had six sons on active service. One of them got the Victoria Cross and others got various decorations, but all of them came back unscathed.

Lord Athelstan was the principal Canadian host. He was at the first Conference as Sir Hugh Graham. He then struck everyone as remarkably retiring and unassuming. When the Glasgow University included him amongst the delegates on whom the honorary degree of LL.D. was conferred he had doubts about accepting it, as he thought his educational attainments did not justify his carrying the designation of 'Doctor.' He feared he would feel that he was sailing under false colours. However, he was persuaded by his friends to take it. At fifteen years of age he was an office boy in the office of a newspaper of which two years later he was manager. He was half owner of the *Montreal Star* when he was nineteen years old and full owner at twenty-one. He was chairman of the Canadian Press Committee. He entertained the delegates at a brilliant banquet at Montreal. All the Canadian notabilities were there. Professor Leacock made a characteristically humorous speech ; he told the visitors what was before them.

You are to be given dinners and luncheons all the way from here to Vancouver, to be shown waterfalls, factories and works of all kinds, and in the spirit of true British brotherhood you are going to stand for it. I form something of a mental picture of your delegate when he gets to a town at the end of the trip and they say, 'This is the principal factory of our town ; we want you to see it.' Some men break down in hysteria and say in a quavering voice, 'Is that your principal factory, really ?' Others go off in a flying rage and say, 'By Heaven, don't show me that.' But you are come to eat these luncheons and look at these factories, because that is the way we bind our British Empire together.

The visitors certainly had hospitality showered on them during their stay of more than six weeks in Canada. Their headquarters were two luxurious trains, in which they travelled from place to place. Their thoughtful hosts arranged that the monotony of the journey was broken by numerous motor trips and days and nights spent in the wonderful hotels of the Dominion. They saw Canada from east to west, travelling back by a different route from the one they went.

On arrival in Canada, when contemplating the lengthy programme of hospitality and travelling, one of the delegates, with a sardonic sense of humour, remarked, 'I wonder who amongst us will die in Canada from all the travelling and feasting prepared for us?' The reply promptly came in a shocked voice, 'No one.' He quietly answered, 'Surely it is contrary to the law of average, especially when so many of the delegates are old and some of them sickly, that they should all survive such lavish hospitality.' The delegate who made the gloomy prediction was much surprised when the tour ended and no one died. When asked to account for it, he replied that that was 'the most phenomenal thing about a trip crowded with phenomena.'

When the Blackfoot Indians were visited at their reservation near Gleichon, the head of the party, Lord Burnham, was invested with the honour of chieftainship and received the name of 'Old Sun.' He was solemnly garbed in Indian fashion, squaws danced, and there was an Indian and cowboy exhibition in which wild cattle were lassoed, infuriated steers ridden, and bucking horses mounted. The Indians made a splendid showing —mounted, painted, and in full war costume—as they swept across the prairie.

The Duke of Devonshire was Governor-General of Canada. The delegates to the first Conference had been his guests at luncheon at Chatsworth and the members of the Canadian Conference were his guests at Rideau Hall.

It was in September and October 1925 that the third Imperial Press Conference was held, and the venue was Melbourne. There were six of the delegates who had attended all three Conferences —namely, Lord Burnham, Sir Harry Brittain, and Sir Emsley Carr from England, Mr. J. W. Dafoe from Canada, and Mr. Theodore Fink and myself from Australia. Quite a number of the delegates had attended two of the Conferences. Lord Burnham, then Mr. Lawson, was an active participant in the first Conference. His father, the first Lord Burnham, was president of the committee that made the arrangements for the initial Conference, and on his death his son succeeded him in the presidency of the Empire Press Union. The second Lord

Burnham was the leader of the delegates who visited Canada, as he was also among the delegates who visited Australia, and in that capacity he was ideal, ever ready to say the right thing, and to the delegates courteous, considerate, and affable.

Amongst other delegates whose acquaintance it was a pleasure to renew were Sir Frank Newnes, son of the founder of *Tit-Bits*; Messrs. J. W. Dafoe, of Winnipeg, C. F. Crandall, of Montreal, and J. H. Woods of Calgary; and Professor Bartolo, of Malta.

The experience of the delegates to the third Conference in Australia was similar to that of the delegates to the second Conference in Canada. A couple of months were spent travelling from north to south of the continent and from the far-famed Sydney Harbour in the east to the picturesque blue reaches of the Swan River in Western Australia. They were brought through the pastoral areas to view the extent of the wool and stock-raising industries; to the agricultural districts to learn about wheat production; to see silver mining at Broken Hill, coal mining at Newcastle, and gold production at Kalgoorlie; to inspect dairy farms and apple orchards, vineyards, and vast city factories. They could not fail to be impressed by the wonderful resources of the continent and its immense empty spaces crying aloud for population. But what was even more useful from the Empire point of view was the close contact of the delegates with each other and the mutual exchange of knowledge and ideas of the Empire, with its multifarious problems. The fourth Conference will be held in London this month. It will be the twenty-first anniversary of the first Conference—the coming-of-age of the Empire Press Union. A new generation has grown up since then; the war has been fought and the menace of Germany no longer exists; most of the men then at the head of affairs have passed away and their places have been taken by new leaders. But the fresh problems that have arisen are scarcely less easy of solution than those of 1909.

JOHN W. KIRWAN.

POLITICAL PARTIES IN JAPAN

By the recent general election the Japanese people has given to a single political party an absolute majority of seats in the national Diet, and Japan is thus at present one of the few countries in the world which is governed neither by a dictatorship nor by a coalition of distinct parties nor by a parliamentary minority. And as the elections which have so vindicated the Hamaguchi Ministry mark the fortieth year from the first convocation of the Japanese Diet, they would seem to provide an occasion for taking stock of parliamentary practice as it has so far developed in Japan.

The statesmen who framed the Japanese Constitution in the 'eighties were concerned above all things to maintain strong and stable government, and they considered that they had need of almost dictatorial powers to enable them to carry through the reforms which were to make their country one of the great states of the world. They were strongly influenced by the example of Bismarckian Germany, for Germany, like Japan, had been a late arrival among the major states and had been confronted by very similar dangers and problems. So the Constitution devised was in the nature of a compromise between parliamentarism and autocracy. The Diet was granted full legislative authority, but the Ministers of State remained responsible directly and severally to the Emperor. They continued to be men of no party affiliation, appointed from the ranks of the bureaucracy on the recommendation of veterans of office known as *genrō*, or ' elder statesmen.'

In such circumstances it is clear that the power of the Diet depended on the use it made of its legislative competence. With a united party holding a majority of seats and pursuing a definite and consistent policy the Diet could establish control over the Government, but not otherwise. Since the beginnings of representation, therefore, the actual development of the party system has been the measure of the importance of the Diet in the domestic politics of Japan.

The Constitution was originally promulgated in response to an agitation carried on by two separate political associations, the Jiyūtō (Liberals) and the Shimpotō (Progressives). These two groups formed the first two definite parties in the new Diet, but

neither could command a majority, and so hostile were they towards each other that for eight years they were unable to make headway against the bureaucratic super-party administration which dominated the Diet with a following of 'independents' and splinter groups. Then in 1898 Liberals and Progressives united to form the Kenseitō (Constitutionalist Party), which was supported by a majority in the Lower House and was called on to take office. A brief and disastrous tenure of power was sufficient to resolve the Kenseitō once more into its constituent elements; the former Progressives continued to bear the new name, but the Liberals were absorbed into a new party formed in 1900 by an experienced statesman and practical exponent of super-party methods, the Marquis Ito. This was the Seiyukai, now one of the two major political parties. From the beginning it had the form and organisation of a regular party, but it accepted the principle of ministerial irresponsibility to the Diet, and was designed to be not so much a party in power as an instrument of government. For a while it was extremely successful in this part; during many years it had no one considerable rival. In the elections of 1908 the Seiyukai won 195 seats as against 184 for four opposition parties.

The challenge to the Seiyukai came from a new party, the Doshikai, formed in 1912 by Prince Katsura from two small groups; in 1916—after the death of Katsura—this further amalgamated with two other groups and took the name of Kenseikai; by still another change of name this party became the Minseito, the party of the present Government. The Kenseikai adopted a platform of increased parliamentary control. On its formation it commanded a majority in the Diet and attacked the super-party Terauchi Ministry then in office; the result was a dissolution of the Diet and a general election in which the Kenseikai lost its majority, obtaining only 117 seats as against 157 for the Seiyukai.

But the advent of the new party had entirely transformed the political situation. With a really effective opposition in the Diet it was no longer possible for any party merely to play the part of the 'King's Friends.' The Seiyukai was driven to steal its opponents' thunder, the more so because a new unrest was manifesting itself in the electorate in the year 1917. Since the beginning of the century the bureaucracy had been for the most part devoted to the cult of things German, and the course of the Great War was adverse to its hitherto overpowering prestige. The navy contract scandals of 1914 had been damaging to the cause of 'clan' rule; the final defeat of Germany was disastrous to it. 'Democracy' was now the order of the day; was not the world fighting to make the world safe for it? Economic crisis

lent force to the new tendencies; the widespread 'rice riots' of the summer of 1918 brought down the Terauchi Cabinet. But the Seiyukai held the reins in the Diet, and so it was they who formed the first real party Ministry, that of Mr. Hara, who was Prime Minister from 1918 to his assassination by a Korean in 1921. In 1920 the Seiyukai again triumphed in a general election, and Hara was followed by another Seiyukai Premier. The new Ministry, however, was a failure, and there was a temporary reversion to super-party government. This was brought to an end by the elections of 1924, and since then all Premiers have been party leaders.

At the beginning of 1918 the electorate, limited by a severe property qualification, numbered only 1,500,000; by a Bill passed in March of that year it was doubled. The Kenseikai now took up the cause of universal manhood suffrage, and fought the elections of 1920 on that issue; it was then defeated, but in 1924 was returned the largest party in the Diet, and carried through its Bill, so that subsequent elections, those of 1928 and 1930, have been contested under democratic conditions.

Neither the elections of 1924 nor those of 1928 provided any party with an absolute majority; such a result, however, has been yielded by those which have just taken place, and the Minseito to-day has an ample margin of seats over the opposition total. The Diets of 1924–29, on the other hand, were characterised by log-rolling alliances, secessions, and balancing manœuvres with either coalition or minority Cabinets. But there was manifest during this period a tendency towards squeezing out the third corner elements. The third party in the 1924 elections was the Seiyu Honto, which had been formed by secession from the Seiyukai; it won 94 out of a total of 464 seats. It subsequently reunited with the Seiyukai, and since then there has been no considerable third party. Politics have become more and more a duel between the Seiyukai and Minseito, which have increased their strength at the expense of the splinters and the independents. The following figures show the combined numbers of the two major parties relative to the third corner at the last three elections:

Year.	Seiyukai plus Minseito (Kenseikai).	Others.
1924	299 seats	165 seats
1928	435 ,,	31 ,,
1930	447 ,,	19 ,,

It is to be noted that the advent of Labour in politics has not so far resulted in the formation of a strong third party. In 1928 three Labour parties of varying shades of redness captured eight seats between them; in the 1930 elections, contrary to expecta-

they have lost ground instead of gaining it. This may be
uted partly to the dissensions which have torn the Labour
ment; partly to the fact that the proletarian parties have
ader who can compare with Mr. Hamaguchi as a popular
.. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that Labour
an is an inconsiderable force; it is much more prominent
nicipal than in national politics, and it seems probable that
l in the future greatly increase its strength in the Diet.
while the all-absorbing Seiyukai-Minseito conflict is analo-
to the Conservative-Liberal politics of England before the
f Labour—the state of affairs indicated in the guardsman's
n *Iolanthe*.

far as an outside observer may judge of the domestic
s of another country, the Minseito, with its leader Mr.
guchi, has well deserved its recent success. The vote of
lence given to Hamaguchi was the response of a people
y concerned about its critical economic situation to the appeal
an with a bold, definite policy and a reputation for sincerity.
ld embargo imposed after the financial crash which followed
great earthquake of 1923 had left the country with the
ative but difficult task of returning to a normal economic
The Seiyukai Ministry of the late Baron Tanaka un-
edly shirked the issue and abandoned itself to a policy of
When the Tanaka Cabinet fell last summer in consequence
'grave Manchurian incident,' Hamaguchi was summoned
e office, and he at once took steps preparatory to raising
ld ban. The Minseito was aware that its policy required
c retrenchment in national expenditure. Retrenchment,
er, did not seem likely to be a vote-catching procedure.
eiyukai had been accustomed to gain support in the rural
tuencies by undertaking uneconomic public works, and the
ss cutting out of such items from the Budget was not
ated to improve the chances of the Minseito in that quarter;
ver, retrenchment could not fail to create fresh unemploy-
just at the time when the completion of the rebuilding of
and Yokohama was throwing large numbers out of work.
eet an inevitable unpopularity, therefore, and win over
opinion, the party entered on a nation-wide economy
ign with meetings, pamphlets, and radio. It was decided
arty conference that

ment representatives shall explain to the people the financial
ties with which the country is confronted and bring about the self-
ing of the people by informing them that the only way to remove
iculties is to lift the gold embargo and to improve foreign trade.
separability of Government finance and individual finance should
ted out in order that the finance of individuals may be rectified

and improved and national policies such as the lifting of the gold ban and the improvement of trade carried out. In other words, it must be a joint effort of the people to conquer the present national crisis.

The election figures are the measure of the success of this campaign, for the elections were fought almost entirely on fiscal policy. Apart from finance, however, the Minseito has gained ground by its attitude on relations with China. Baron Tanaka's 'positive' policy in China did not show satisfactory results. The Minseito has long been an advocate of a more conciliatory temper, largely because of its close association with Osaka, 'the Manchester of Japan,' whose export trade is very sensitive to Chinese boycott. Relations have certainly improved since the Minseito came into power. This does not mean, however, that any appreciable difference has been made in national policy with regard to the rights and 'special interests' in Manchuria. Japan has reached a point in her economic development where it has become virtually impossible for her to dispense with her privileged position in what is formally Chinese territory, and the 'Manchurian question' remains as the most serious problem confronting her abroad.

The Seiyukai also suffered in the elections from the exposures recently made of bribery and corruption under the Tanaka Ministry, involving especially Mr. Ogawa, Seiyukai Minister of Railways. The Minseito, however, did not escape implication in some of the cases which the new zeal of the procurators has been bringing to light, and the Seiyukai need not have been damaged by them any more than the Republican Party in America has been ruined by the Teapot Dome. The real trouble of the Seiyukai in recent years has been lack of effective leadership. The first three leaders of the party, Ito, Saionji and Hara, were all statesmen of imposing calibre, but since the passing of Hara there has been no really eminent and inspiring personality in the Seiyukai. Tanaka was imported into the party to lead it; he was a man with a distinguished military career, but no experience of party politics, and he made blunders of the kind a man with such antecedents might be expected to make. The present leader, Mr. Inukai, has a good political record and rejoices in the attractive nickname of 'God of Constitutionalism' (*Kensei no Kami Sama*). But he is too old to be adequate to his task. The party undoubtedly needs a thorough renovation. There are said to be some able young men in the ranks, and no doubt a spell of opposition politics with no chance of log-rolling will bring to the front new political talent. But until this happens the leonine personality of Mr. Hamaguchi holds the centre of the political stage in Japan.

G. F. HUDSON.

WORLD WHEAT AND THE BRITISH FARMER

The sharp trade slump throughout the world, coming on top of the special difficulties confronting British industry, has sent our unemployment figures mounting to unprecedented heights, and has at the same time reduced the prices of most farm products to absolutely unremunerative levels. Statistically, the crisis has been accompanied—whether as cause or effect is of no account here—by a catastrophic fall in the prices of primary products of all kinds without any corresponding drop in the prices of finished industrial goods. The *Economist* index of wholesale prices, comprising in the main basic raw materials and foodstuffs, is now less than 20 per cent. above its 1913 level; whereas the Ministry of Labour calculates retail prices still to be more than 60 per cent. above July 1914. Many raw materials—for example, some cereals, some oilseeds, and various descriptions of wool—are down to their pre-war price. This abnormal divergence between the general levels of agricultural and industrial prices provides a further aggravation of the depression, for low prices for farm products mean that the vast peasant and farming population of the world has so much less spending power and, correspondingly, purchases of industrial products are curtailed. The divergence between agricultural and industrial prices has persisted throughout most of the post-war period. But in recent months it has become more acute. It is symptomatic of the prevailing maladjustment and disorganisation of the world of trade and industry to-day. It is the visible evidence of a deep underlying disturbance of an economic system which in the years before the war was in a more or less flourishing condition. It cannot now be summarily disposed of merely as a temporary result of war conditions which will soon pass over. For the Armistice was signed nearly twelve years ago, and still nobody anticipates with any confidence the early re-establishment of pre-war conditions. Nor is it any longer possible to suppose that superficial palliatives will put things right. It is necessary to cut deeper in an analysis of the underlying causes, if real solutions which may set this and other countries on the road to a new prosperity are to be discovered.

Great Britain is affected by this situation directly in two . First, British agriculture has found that the price of many staple products has been brought down to quite unprofi levels by the competition of low-priced imported supplies. system of free imports—whatever advantages may be claime it from the consumers' point of view—certainly leaves our ag ture almost entirely at the mercy of general world condition drop in prices or a hold-up of supplies anywhere immedi affects the British position. Moreover, since British ag turalists themselves consume a far smaller proportion of thei production than peasants who largely feed and sometimes c themselves from their own fields and flocks, low prices hit even harder than most other rural populations. Nor have the possibility of recouping themselves by reducing exp ture on wages, for their labourers' earnings are already un low as compared with the industrial population, and any fu reductions would certainly bring them below the subsis level.

Secondly, British manufacturing trades are badly hit b reduction in purchasing power of the agricultural populatic home and abroad. Before this new crisis came upon it Br industry was already making heavy weather of its post difficulties. The growth of new industries in many coun which we used to supply before the war with manufactured and the growing severity of competition from the new indu countries whose machinery and organisation have been inst since the war were having a grave effect on our exports. present crisis has added to our troubles by curtailing exports further on account of the sheer inability of many of our customers to buy what they need. The drop in wool prices a for example, will affect the power of Australia to buy abroac year by 10,000,000*l.*; and Canada's imports will be reduce a similar sum, owing to the smaller amount she will recei payment for grain exports.

It is surely time for a very serious and fundamental su of the whole industrial position of this country as it is now ar it is likely to be in the next ten years. The purpose of this pr article is the narrower one of examining the effect of this v economic trouble on British agriculture, more particularl relation to wheat cultivation, and of relating some rem proposed to the wider problems of both agriculture and indu The case of wheat is for several reasons especially impor For many British farmers, in East Anglia particularly, whe still the most important crop. Psychologically and in its rela to other branches of agriculture it has an importance far gr than the place it occupies in the list of sales of farm proc

Moreover, the proportion of imports to home production is so large that the home market is dominated by imported supplies. Since wheat, too, is a large element in our total imports, the countries who sell wheat to us are large customers, or might be large customers, for our manufactured goods. And, lastly, wheat bread is the most important article of food consumption in Great Britain, and its price vitally affects both the home consumer and, indirectly, the cost of production of all manufactured goods.

In an analysis of the situation in regard to wheat production and sale at home certain broad facts about the world wheat position must be borne in mind. First of all it should be noted that the bulk of the world's wheat is consumed in the countries in which it is produced. Of a total world crop of approximately 100,000,000 tons annually, only about 18,000,000 tons enter into international trade. The four important exporting countries at this moment, in order of importance, are Canada, the Argentine, the United States, and Australia. Of these, Canada, the Argentine, and Australia export each some three-quarters of their total production. But the United States consumes herself five-sixths of her production and exports only the balance of one-sixth. Before the war Russia and India exported wheat on a large scale. There seems little likelihood that India will again enter the world market except in years of exceptionally bountiful harvests. But there is a very considerable probability that in the next two or three years Russia, which before the war was a dominating factor in the supply of Continental Europe, will again become very important. In the meantime the reduction in supplies from India, from Russia, and from one or two other countries has been more than made up by an immense expansion of Canadian production and export. There is some evidence of a growing demand for wheat among Eastern populations who previously lived on rice. So far, however, the increase in Asiatic purchases has not more than compensated for diminished Continental imports on account of post-war poverty. Canadian wheat is actually sold now to nineteen separate countries, Great Britain herself taking less than 50 per cent. of the total Canadian exports. Fifteen million tons of the 18,000,000 tons traded internationally each year come to this country and the Continent of Europe. But nearly all European countries produce themselves more than they import. Great Britain is the outstanding exception. We import about 6,000,000 tons of wheat per year as against a home crop of approximately 1,500,000 tons, of which nearly 500,000 tons is consumed on the farms or sold for poultry-feeding purposes. Thus only about 1,000,000 tons of British wheat is used for flour as compared with about six times as much of imported wheat and

flour. It is inevitable that the price of British wheat should be dominated by the prices and supplies of imported wheat.

In regard to the organisation of the world wheat trade there has in recent years been a significant change. In pre-war days the grain merchants and the grain exchanges provided a fairly efficient machine for distributing stocks and equating supplies to demands. On the whole their operations tended generally to have a steadying effect on prices except in periods of exceptional speculation. But between them they were able to levy directly and indirectly a pretty heavy toll for their services.

Since the war there has been a remarkable development of centralised marketing in most of the wheat-exporting countries organised by the farmers themselves, sometimes with and sometimes without Government assistance. Some 60 per cent. of the Canadian crop is handled by the co-operative wheat pool. Half the Australian crop is similarly marketed by State pools, and there is a move to constitute a complete monopoly. The Russian exports are in the hands of a State-constituted monopoly. A few months ago the United States Federal Farm Board was endowed by its Government with wide powers and ample funds to control wheat marketing even to the extent, if it pleases, of centralised and subsidised dumping abroad of surplus supplies. The causes of this development are not far to seek. The agricultural populations throughout the world were already beginning before the war to resent the profits made out of them by the commercial interests. It is difficult to say exactly what percentage of the price of grain went to the traders. Anyhow, Canadian farmers, having discovered in the war period that this commercial organisation was not absolutely necessary, soon convinced themselves after the war that it was far too expensive. Moreover, they saw that organised and orderly marketing would enable them through their central co-operative organisations, not only to cut out the profits of middlemen and speculators to a very large extent, but also to effect vast reductions by bulk bargaining in the charges levied for storing, transport, financing, insurance, etc. And, on the other hand, the uncertainty and anxiety arising from having to sell in an ever fluctuating market would be replaced by the certainty of a fair average price, independent of the day or week in which the individual farmer sold his grain, by pooling the prices received for the whole year through a central agency. These expectations have to a very substantial extent been realised. There is little doubt, therefore, that centralised marketing of wheat by the Dominions and other countries is to be regarded as a permanent phenomenon.

In some quarters the development of co-operative pools has been viewed with suspicion and anxiety as likely to lead to

rganised attempts on a world scale to force up prices against onsumers. It is true that already the Canadian, Australian, .ussian, and United States co-operative organisations are eginning, albeit tentatively, to come together with a view to -ordinating their operations. So far, however, progress has ot gone much beyond the exchange of information. Only if ie volume of world supplies of wheat are somehow restricted n a higher price for wheat be secured by joint action. But if ices appreciably rise the pools would find it an almost impossible sk to prevent an expansion of production by their own members. higher price would also stimulate production in other countries. rance, Italy, Germany, and also this country would produce ore wheat themselves and therefore need to import less from rerseas. Thus the pools would find themselves with larger sur-uses to sell to countries who needed to buy less. An indus-ial combine with a monopoly of production can and often oes force prices up. But there is not the least sign of any rly likelihood of co-operative agricultural marketing organisa-ons being able to control the individual operations of tens of illions of peasants and other producers, and so to raise prices. ideed, the real danger from the British point of view concerns, ot so much the interests of the consumer, but the power which entralised marketing on a national scale gives for dumping heat in this country at low prices.

Though the concentration of selling has given undoubted ivantages to the members of the pool both in better and more able prices, it has been very far from giving a steadiness to orld prices. The replacement of individual selling by thousands farmers and small merchants by concentrated operations on a orld-wide scale—accompanied incidentally by a corresponding ncentration in the milling trades in Great Britain and the chief ontinental countries—has, in fact, made prices more unstable. he variations of prices in these last few months have been iprecedented in their range and suddenness. The following ble shows the quotations for No. 3 Northern Manitoba in ondon, ex ship, per quarter of 496 lb. in the last few months :

1929		
ctober 16 ..	55s. 3d.	
ovember 13 ..	47s. 6d.	.. 14 per cent. fall within month.
ecember 4 ..	54s. 9d.	.. similar rise in three weeks.
ecember 24 ..	51s.	.. 7 per cent. fall in three weeks.
1930		
inuary 1 ..	54s. 9d.	.. similar rise in one week.
arch 12	40s. 6d.	.. 26 per cent. drop in ten weeks.
pril 9	44s. 6d.	.. 10 per cent. rise in four weeks.
pril 23	42s.	. 6 per cent. drop in fortnight.

The movement in British prices has not been so great, but it has been considerable. Thus the effect of low average prices on British production has been intensified by their instability.

The main cause of lower prices in the last autumn was undoubtedly exceptionally heavy exports by the Argentine in the months of August to November 1929. Instead of a normal export of 22,300,000 bushels—which was the average for the same period in the previous four years—73,000,000 bushels were shipped. Europe had the advantage in 1929 of a large crop in exceptionally dry and millable condition, so that Continental imports during this period of heavy Argentine selling were much lower than usual. The consequence was that the British market had to bear the brunt of Argentine dumping. This was all the more disastrous from the point of view of the British farmer, as Argentine wheat, though a little inferior, is of a type similar to British wheat.

In the meantime the Canadians have been in no hurry to sell during these months of low prices, and the Federal Farm Board in the United States of America has been keeping up internal prices by taking supplies off the home market and so piling up a big reserve stock. At any moment it may be decided that the time has come to disgorge this surplus by selling it abroad. And the British market is the natural, and in present circumstances almost the only, outlet for such a sale.

Thus German exports of wheat, assisted and stimulated by a complicated system of import rebates whose effect is much the same as that of a bounty on exports, upset British wheat prices in the early autumn, particularly in East Anglia. The forcing of sales by the Argentine produced similar but deeper effects throughout the autumn and the winter. The possible liquidation of stocks by the Federal Farm Board later this summer and the chance that Russia may take a hand in the game may also upset markets. Each country in its turn, seeking its own legitimate interests, is apt to play havoc, as things are, with British farming interests. The lot of the British wheat farmer is indeed a far from enviable one, and it is not surprising that he is in a state bordering on despair. His business operations are the plaything of forces entirely outside his control and largely beyond his knowledge. His costs remain constant whatever happens elsewhere. He cannot now economise on rents to any substantial extent, for rents are already at a minimum. And anyhow, a large number of farmers bought their farms after the war, and mortgagees are apt to be less accommodating than landlords. Wages cannot be reduced because the wages boards quite rightly hold that they are already down to a low enough level. The *Gazette* average figures for the whole cereal year, apart from the wide

ange of variation within the year, show prices ranging from 2s. 6d. per cwt. for 1924–25, to 12s. 3d. in 1925–26, to 11s. 11d. 1926–27, to 10s. 3d. in 1927–28, to 9s. 11d. in 1928–29, down to robably somewhere in the neighbourhood of 9s. for 1929–30. There is no reason to suppose that the average level of prices in 925 was more than enough to give the average farmer a reasonble return. In this case present prices are ruinous for the iajority of arable farmers.

Wheat farming, in fact, is suffering from two evils. Prices enerally are unduly low, though possibly this is a temporary hase. And, what is not a temporary but a chronic phase in e present organisation of the world wheat trade, prices are ompletely unstable. These two factors, of which the second almost as great a handicap as the first, are causing a rapid iminution in arable cultivation as more and more farmers each ear abandon wheat and turn to pasture. The change produces ir less food and gives much less employment, but it is less risky or the farmer. At a time when the country is faced with a iminution of its power to buy food abroad by the difficulty of elling its manufactured exports, accompanied by an increase of nemployment at home, it is obvious that this is a tendency hich is directly harmful to national interests. Mere acquiscence in the continuance of such conditions is an act of surender to which no Government ought to succumb. The roblem, then, is to find a means of giving the wheat producer a able price, free from the irrational uncertainty of present onditions, and at the same time—for so long, at any rate, as ie present unnatural depression of world wheat prices lasts— give him a higher price than one solely determined by current orld prices. Several schemes have been put forward with this bject in view.

There is first of all the simple device of guaranteeing the price r home-grown wheat at a more or less arbitrary figure. This olicy, to be effective, must be implemented in one of two ways: ther the Government must pay the difference between the iaranteed price and the fluctuating market price of imported heat of corresponding quality, or the cost must be thrown back i the consumer. The first was, in fact, the method adopted ider the post-war Corn Production Act. It broke down for a iriety of reasons, one of which was the difficulty of justifying ecial subsidies from the taxpayer to a particular trade, and not others; another reason was the uncertainty of the cost likely fall on the Exchequer. In any case, the problem of uniting in ie mills British wheat at a fixed price with imported wheat at ctuating prices—now more and now less profitable to the iller—is very difficult administratively without elaborate control

of the milling trade. The alternative course of throwing the additional cost of a guaranteed price on the consumer is also open to objections both administrative and financial. One method of dealing with the problem which has been suggested is that of requiring millers to utilise a certain proportion or quota of British wheat in their grists. But British wheat is used in varying proportions in different parts of the country and for different classes of flour. Many biscuit flours, for example, are almost entirely based on home-produced wheat. And many of the inland flour mills in the arable areas naturally rely mainly on British wheat. But in Lancashire and in the west of Scotland the proportion of British wheat used in the flours sold for bread-making purposes is very often negligible. The quota system would involve arbitrary interference with the quality of flour to which particular districts are accustomed; it would cause unjustifiable waste in transporting wheat across country from the places where it is grown and could best be used, to other parts of the country where neither millers nor consumers really desire it, and it would inevitably involve also some control or even prohibition of imports of foreign flour. Its economic results would be quite uncertain, and the method of its operation would undoubtedly arouse much opposition, a great deal of it hard to answer. It would not be easy, for example, to persuade the Lancashire housewife, who generally herself bakes the bread her household consumes, and who has been accustomed for years to particular brands of flour of high quality, that it was necessary for her to accept flour she would regard as of lower quality and to pay a higher price for it.

Protection, whether by means of a tariff on all imports or in Lord Beaverbrook's form of a tariff on non-Empire imports, altogether apart from its effect on bread prices, does not meet the real underlying difficulties. No doubt it would raise the general level of wheat prices and by this means make wheat production more profitable for some of the present arable farmers. And if the tariff was sufficiently high it would extend the margin of profitable cultivation. But it would do nothing to remove the instability and uncertainty of the market for a considerable number of farmers. Unless the tariff were adjusted week by week—a proposition which is obviously impracticable—the price would continue to fluctuate almost as much as at present, though between somewhat higher limits. It would still pay the Federal Farm Board to dump its surplus supplies in this country or on the Continent; and it would make very little difference, since Continental prices would at once react on British prices, whether the Americans sold their grain on the Continent and the Canadians most of their exports here, or *vice versâ*. The advantages

British farmers would be altogether disproportionate to the isadvantages and discontent of the consuming population. Whatever may be the course of political opinion in this country the present industrial crisis continues, there is no sign at resent that the old and traditional prejudice against a deliberate crease of the cost of living by means of tariffs is likely to be uickly eradicated. The main difficulty is the dominance of the ritish market by the operations of those who control imported pplies. So long as this continues there is no safety or certainty r British agriculture.

The remedy appears to be to control imports by the establishent of an Imports Board which, exercising monopoly rights, ould buy from the producers abroad the imported supplies eeded for this country, would pool costs, and satisfy the needs the mills at a steady average price quality for quality throught the year. It would be able to make bulk contracts for rge quantities with the Canadian or other pools under which eliveries would be regularised for considerable periods, and it ould supplement these main supplies by day-to-day purchases opportunity occurred. If wheat were offered by the Germans anybody else at exceptionally low prices, it would purchase em, but it would not use these windfalls to ruin British farmers. uch dumped supplies would be resold to the mills at the same rice as ordinary supplies and the profits put to reserve by the nports Board.

Based on its contracts and the prices it expected to have to ay, it would guarantee a fixed price to the home farmer, to be aid either direct by the millers on its account or by local merants acting on its behalf. The farmer would know when he owed the price he would receive for his grain when he harvested

In the original scheme worked out three or four years ago by e Labour Party Agricultural Committee it was contemplated at the guaranteed price would be on a parity, quality for quality, ith the world price as estimated by the Imports Board, but the sorganisation of wheat markets in the last year and a half has anged this situation. It is true that such a price would be ancially much more advantageous to the majority of farmers an the price they are receiving at present, but it is now vital to op the decay of British agriculture by giving the farmer a more munerative price, temporarily at any rate, than the low prices hich for the time being prevail in world markets. Fifty shillings r quarter guaranteed for the next two years would almost certinly stop the rot. On present indications a parity with world ices for the next few months will not amount on an average to ore than 40s. per quarter. Thus 50s. would involve paying the itish farmer 10s. per quarter above world market prices.

Since, however, British wheat at present represents less than 1 per cent. of the total quantity of wheat used in the loaf, and i unlikely, even with the stimulus of a 50*s*. guaranteed price, t exceed 20 per cent. for some time, an additional 10*s*. per quarter i equivalent to not more than 2*s*. per quarter spread over the whole quantity of wheat used by the mills. Thus the whole of the Board's supplies, both home-produced and imported, could b invoiced to the mills at an average price of 42*s*., making of course suitable differences for quality. Two shillings per quarter or wheat means less than ¼*d*. per quartern loaf. There is nc reason to doubt that the centralisation of imports would enable considerable economies in regard to transport, storage, insurance in financing and purchasing charges to be made at least on a pa with those already made by the Canadians in centralising their selling. Moreover, the considerable increase in the margin between wheat prices and bread prices as compared with pre war levels leaves little doubt as to the possibility of economies granted a known and stable price for wheat, that could be made in milling and baking. Wheat prices are now very little, if anything, above pre-war, yet before the war a quartern loaf cost about 5½*d*., and the price now is between 8*d*. and 9*d*. It is surely no unreasonable assumption that from these various sources much more than the ¼*d*. necessary to give the farmer 50*s*. a quarter guaranteed price can be obtained without any increase in the price paid by the consumer. Indeed, the investigations of the Food Council, coupled with the figures which came into the Food Ministry's possession during the war, make it pretty certain that ½*d*. to 1*d*. could on the average be knocked off the price of the loaf, provided that a stable basis of prices for wheat was first secured.

It does not seem unreasonable to claim that if the State intervenes for the purpose of reorganising the wheat import trade in the national interest the British producer should have a share of the advantages. If this assumption be granted, the farmer could be guaranteed a remunerative price, and the uncertainty from which he suffers could be removed, without any increase in prices to the consumer or charge on the State. In the work of the Imports Board agriculturists, consumers, and the special skill and experience of the grain trade would of course be represented. It should be constituted as a statutory corporation, working under terms of reference laid down by Parliament and with definite finance guaranteed under Parliamentary authority by the Treasury. It would balance its accounts without profit or loss over given periods of years, periodically adjusting selling prices if necessary. It would present its accounts and make it annual report to Parliament. Subject to the carrying out of it

terms of reference to the satisfaction of the Minister responsible, it would be immune from day-to-day parliamentary interference in the details of its business to the same extent, for example, as the Broadcasting Corporation. It would, indeed, act on business lines, but it would not be a private profit-making concern.

One other aspect of this transformation of the national imports of wheat is worth attention. One very disturbing trade development in these last few years has been the stagnation of our export trade to the Dominions, and to South America, though their imports from the U.S.A. and elsewhere are increasing by leaps and bounds. The main object of the Beaverbrook scheme is to develop inter-Imperial trade by bargaining for Imperial Preference. But the proposal to raise the prices of imported foreign produce in order to confer uncertain benefits on Dominion exporters seems unlikely to commend itself to the British elector. And, on the other hand, the risks to newly-created Dominion industries by the unrestricted competition of British exports does not meet with much favour in the Dominions. And if trade is organised on present lines a full protective tariff seems to be the only means of equipping this country with bargaining powers. But an Imports Board would be in a position to give the Dominions or other countries commercial advantages of immense value to them. It could, in fact, by definite contracts guarantee the best market in the world for a period of years for specific quantities of Canadian, Australian, or indeed of South American wheat. Part of the consideration might be corresponding and substantial advantages for British exports. It ought not to be difficult to ask Canada, for example, to increase her imports of British goods by any means convenient to her—either by direct purchase under State auspices or by extra preferences for British manufactured goods—so long as Great Britain buys from Canada five times as much as Canada buys from her. Centralisation of purchase of British imports would give a direct and reliable bargaining power to this country in negotiating for an extension of trade. It would provide this on lines which would not conflict with the interests of the British consumer at any stage, nor by increasing costs here make it more difficult for British trade to compete with Continental rivals in world markets. Nor would it force on the Dominions any modification of their policy of industrial development. It would provide the basis for a real economic partnership in which mutual trade might steadily and confidently develop. It is the most direct and effective method of securing and maintaining our Overseas markets.

E. F. WISE.

'THE TRAGEDY OF PALESTINE'

A Reply

The article by Lord Sydenham in the May number of this Review was an attempt to show that the policy of the Balfour Declaration has been the source of all the troubles that have befallen Palestine since the end of the war, including the riots of last August, and that if that policy is continued 'dangerous conflicts on a larger scale must be expected.' In order to prove his thesis Lord Sydenham selects for quotation and comment a number of passages and statements from the Report of the Commission of Inquiry intended to illustrate alleged grievances of the Arabs and to reflect unfavourably upon the Jews, while he gives a fragmentary and misleading account of the activities of the Zionist movement both before and since the war. He not only refrains from referring to any statements in the Report that are unfavourable to the Arab leaders and to the Palestine Administration, as well as to any that are favourable to the Jews, but he maintains a discreet silence regarding the long and reasoned Note of Reservations by Mr. H. Snell (covering twelve pages), thus implying that all the members of the Commission were agreed in their conclusions. Unfortunately, even when reproducing some of the observations of the Commission, he is far from accurate, and his article contains some serious misrepresentations.

It is characteristic of Lord Sydenham's attitude to Zionism that he seeks to suggest some hidden connexion between that movement and Bolshevism. At the very beginning of his article, after mentioning the date on which the Balfour Declaration was communicated to Lord Rothschild, he appends a footnote in which he points out that five days later 'the German agents, Lenin and Trotsky, carried out their *coup d'état*, and Russia was quickly converted into a shambles, and became a centre of revolutionary infection and a malignant enemy of the British Empire.' Similarly, when referring to the procession of Jewish youths to the Wailing Wall, which took place eight days before the terrible outbreak of last August, he remarks in a footnote: 'This use of "youths" suggests inspiration from Moscow.' The

absurdity of such a view consists in the fact that Bolshevist Russia is the only country in Europe in which Zionism is prohibited and proscribed; for the last twelve years it has been systematically persecuted on the ground that it is a counter-revolutionary movement and an agency of British Imperialism. Thousands of Zionists in Russia have been imprisoned and cruelly punished solely on account of their Zionist convictions, and at least 1500 are at present languishing in gaols and in exile in various remote and inclement regions.

Lord Sydenham says that 'the introduction . . . of Bolshevism into the Holy Land must be abhorrent to all orthodox Jews.' The implication is that Zionism is responsible for its introduction. The fact is that the Zionist Organisation is opposed to the admission of Bolsheviks into Palestine, since their sole aim is to make mischief and to render the Jewish national home impossible. But the Arab leaders have no such scruples: they have been in association with Bolshevist agents for several years. As far back as November 29, 1923, the *Manchester Guardian* reported that a conversation had taken place at Lausanne between M. Rakovsky, the Soviet delegate, and Arab delegations from Palestine and Syria on the question of independence for those countries. A number of Arabs have been to Moscow for the purpose of being trained as agitators and have returned to Palestine. One of the most notorious is Hamdi el-Husseini, who attended a conference of the Anti-Imperialist League at Frankfort last summer and afterwards took part in inciting the Arab mob during the August riots. But even more distinguished Arabs are found in the company of Communists—namely, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem and Jemal Husseini, secretary of the Supreme Moslem Council, whose names figured at the head of a secret 'Black List' of the police, which was published by a Palestine paper whilst the Inquiry Commission was in session.[1] The Arabic Press at Baghdad reported that the Grand Mufti might shortly resign because his position had been shaken by the revelation that he had connexions with Moscow, and that his brother might probably succeed him.[2] Thereupon the Haifa Arab organ *El Carmel* wrote:

> Everyone is entitled to select any political or social programme he wishes, provided that it is not prejudicial to other men. If we admit that the Grand Mufti has connexions with Moscow, it cannot be considered a crime by the British Labour Government, which has resumed relations with the Soviet Government.

Further proof could be given of the connexion of the Palestinian

[1] See *Daily Mail*, November 5, 1929.

[2] Bulletin of Jewish Telegraphic Agency, November 27, 1929.

Arab leaders with Moscow, but enough has been said to show the absurdity of attempting to fix a Bolshevist stigma upon Zionism.

It is rather late in the day to try to bolster up the claims of the Palestinian Arabs to self-government by reference to the alleged pledge to the Sherif Hussein or to the Anglo-French Declaration of 1918, but Lord Sydenham appears to ignore the fact that those claims have been repeatedly and authoritatively repudiated. He speaks of 'the Treaty with King Hussein.' There was no treaty at all, only an inconclusive correspondence, and Hussein was not yet king. The promise in the letter of Sir Henry McMahon of October 24, 1915, to recognise the independence of the Arab territories south of latitude 37 was made conditional upon their revolting against Ottoman rule.[3] The Sherif of Mecca revolted and was subsequently created King of the Hejaz. The Palestinian Arabs never revolted, but remained passive throughout Lord Allenby's campaign, and there is no evidence that they at that time understood or claimed Palestine to be included in the promise. Lord Sydenham asserts, with reference to the representations made by the Zionist Delegation to the Peace Conference in the spring of 1919, that 'there is no record of any consultation with the Arabs, whose vital interests were at stake.' He will find such a record in the Report of the Executive of the Zionist Organisation for 1921, from which he quotes, on page 23—namely, the letter of Emir Feisal (now King of Iraq), who was in Paris at the time in the Arab interests, and who wrote a letter dated March 1, 1919, to Professor Felix Frankfurter, in which he stated:

> Our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist Organisation to the Peace Conference, and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best in so far as we are concerned to help them through.

According to Mr. Winston Churchill, who was Colonial Secretary at the time, it was not until January 20, 1921, that the first suggestion was made by Emir Feisal, in the course of a conversation at the Foreign Office, that Palestine was included in the area within which Great Britain undertook to support and recognise the independence of the Arabs. The British Government's point of view was then expressed, and the Emir accepted the statement that there had been no intention to include Palestine. Sir Henry McMahon himself, in a letter written on March 12, 1922, to the department of the Colonial Office most interested in Palestine, placed clearly on record that in his letter of October 24, 1915, it was his intention to exclude Palestine from an independent Arabia. The only

[3] See Colonial Office White Paper (Cmd. 1700), 1922.

promise made to the Palestinian Arabs is that contained in the Balfour Declaration—namely, 'that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine.' That promise has been faithfully kept.

As for the Anglo-French Declaration of November 7, 1918, whilst this document speaks expressly of Syria and Mesopotamia, it makes no mention at all of Palestine, and it cannot be regarded as tacitly annulling the Balfour Declaration, which had been on record for more than a year. Besides, such a view is negatived by the before-mentioned letter of King Feisal, which was written four months after the Anglo-French Declaration. Nor is reference to Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations of any avail, for the Palestine Mandate was approved by the Council of the League long after the Covenant was signed, and as they subjected the text of the Mandate to many months of minute scrutiny and repeated revision before they passed it, they must have satisfied themselves that it did not conflict with any article of the Covenant.

Lord Sydenham writes about 'a policy leading at best to the political extinction of the Arabs in the land of their fathers,' as though Palestine were the only country in which there are Arabs, and as though the latter ever formed a political unit in Palestine. The fact is that the Arabs number 38,000,000 and occupy nearly 2,500,000 square miles, stretching from the Atlantic seaboard to the Euphrates and the Gulf of Persia. The Arab nation is the richest in land among the nations of the world, and its culture free from all menace, whilst, on the other hand, the Jewish people, which has been oppressed and landless for the last 1800 years, has no other soil on which it can develop its national life and build up its national home except the land of Palestine, which forms only 170th part of the total area inhabited by Arabic-speaking peoples, and where there is ample room for Jew and Arab to work in peaceful co-operation.

In his fragmentary sketch of Zionist history Lord Sydenham writes of 'the first secret Zionist Conference, held at Basle in 1897 and presided over by Herzl.' He seems to suggest that the historic gathering convened by Herzl was engaged in some sinister plot. It was not a conference, but a congress; it was not secret, but public, as were all succeeding congresses, and *verbatim* reports have been published of the proceedings of every one. He also refers to 'an important speech by Dr. Max Nordau' which, he alleges, was recorded in an American paper on September 19, 1919, 'shortly after this Conference' (meaning the sixth Congress held in 1903), and in which Dr. Nordau, giving a forecast of Zionist developments, spoke of 'the future world war.'

As the World War had come to an end ten months before the alleged date of Dr. Nordau's speech, it is difficult to make head or tail of this piece of Zionist 'history.'

Lord Sydenham is just as reliable in dealing with the Report of the Commission of Inquiry. According to his version the August riots were caused by the procession of Jewish youths to the Wailing Wall. He writes: 'The news of this incident spread, doubtless with exaggerations, and I trace what followed mainly to the proceedings of these youths.' And then he gives the total casualties on both sides as though they followed immediately after the procession, merely adding that 'some of these casualties, mostly on the Arab side, were caused by the fire of troops and police.' Now the Report states quite clearly that the procession of Jewish youths took place on August 15 and the anti-Jewish outbreak began on August 23. Why did not Lord Sydenham mention what happened between these dates, and, above all, why did he not mention the other causes of the outbreak as set forth by the Commission? Probably because he would have had to call attention to the Moslem demonstration at the Wailing Wall on August 16, to the activities of the Society for the Protection of the Moslem Holy Places, to the 'exciting and intemperate articles of the Press,' to 'propaganda among the less-educated Arab people of a character calculated to incite them,' and to 'the inadequacy of the military forces and of the reliable police available.' His account seems to suggest that there was fighting between Arabs and Jews on equal terms. There was no such fighting. There was a sudden attack by well-armed Arabs upon unsuspecting Jews in various parts of the country, in which the Jews did their best to defend themselves. In Hebron and Safed the Jews, belonging to the religious and pious class, were quite defenceless and provided 83—men, women, and children—out of the total of 133 Jews who were killed. By far the greater number of Arab victims owed their death or injuries to the firearms of the troops and police who quelled the outbreak.

On the question of responsibility Lord Sydenham touches rather lightly. All that he says is that the Commission assigns to the Mufti of Jerusalem 'a share in the responsibility,' and that the Palestine Government 'emerge without discredit from the inquisition.' A careful reading of the Report, however, will reveal much more. The Commission state:

> The innovations of practice introduced by the Moslem religious authorities, of whom the Mufti is the head, in the neighbourhood of the Wailing Wall were intended in part to annoy the Jews.

They also state:

. . . We have little doubt that some of the constituents who elected the Executive carried out among the more ignorant Arab people a campaign of propaganda calculated to incite them. It is probable . . . that individual members of the Arab Executive further exacerbated racial feeling after the disturbances had begun. For their failure to make during the week preceding the disturbances an attempt to control their followers by declaring publicly and emphatically that they were on the side of law and order, neither the Mufti nor the Palestine Arab Executive can be acquitted of blame.

Mr. Snell goes further. He attributes to the Mufti 'a greater share in the responsibility for the disturbance than is attributed to him in the Report,' and is of opinion that 'the Mufti must bear the blame for this failure to make any effort to control the character of an agitation conducted in the name of a religion of which in Palestine he was the head.'

Lord Sydenham approves of the Commission in exceeding their terms of reference by discussing questions of major policy, but gives an unsatisfactory summary of the Commission's findings. For instance, he refers to some of the obligations of the Mandatory Government in respect of the establishment of the Jewish national home, one of them being to encourage the 'close settlement of Jews on the land, including State and waste lands not required for public purposes,' and he tells us that 'the Commission declare, "without fear of contradiction," that full effect has been given to these provisions.' But the Commission did not make any such general affirmation. The only provisions of the Mandate to which they say full effect has been given are the Articles 22 and 23 (relating to the recognition of English, Arabic, and Hebrew as official languages, and to the recognition of the holy days of the respective communities in Palestine as legal days of rest for those communities), apart from the recognition of the Zionist Organisation as the Jewish Agency and the enactment of immigration and nationality laws making special provision for Jewish interests. The Commission do not state that effect has been given to the article requiring the Administration of Palestine to provide State and waste lands for close settlement by Jews, for the simple reason that this article has remained a dead letter. On the other hand, a vast area of State land at Beisan was given some years ago to a number of Arab squatters on a part of it, who were unable either to cultivate it or even to pay the Government dues on it, and who are now disposing of the greater part of it, which is useless to themselves, at speculative prices.

Whilst Lord Sydenham thus attributes to the Commission a statement that they do not make, he quite ignores their findings on other matters that they have investigated. He criticises, for instance, the concessions granted respectively to Mr. Rutenberg

and to Mr. Novomeysky and Major Tulloch (though he carefully suppresses the last name), and suggests that much 'is still unrevealed.' But the Commission found that the Arab complaints in regard to these concessions are not well founded and do not constitute a serious grievance. Lord Sydenham mentions that in 1927 the number of Jewish unemployed 'reached the high figure of 8440.' He chooses not to add, what the Commission state on the following page (p. 106), that by the end of September 1929 the number 'had fallen to about 800,' and that by the end of the year it 'had decreased still further.'

The argument that the Arabs in Palestine are worse off economically and politically than they were under the Turks is quite fallacious. Under the Turks the Arabs paid a tax that would be equivalent to-day to a sum of 1·430*l.* per head; to-day they pay only 1·290*l.* per head. On the other hand, the Jews, though only 20 per cent. of the population, contribute more than 40 per cent. of the Government's revenue. It is true that the Arabs in Palestine were able to send a few deputies to the Ottoman Parliament before the war, but for all the good they were able to do for Palestine they might just as well have stayed at home. Much greater progress in every direction has been made in Palestine during the last ten years without a Parliament than under the Turks with a Parliament or throughout the hundreds of years of Turkish administration. It is, indeed, significant that throughout the sittings of the Inquiry Commission not a single witness appeared who complained that he had been made landless through Jewish immigration, nor was there a single Arab among those tried in the courts for participation in the riots who urged in extenuation of his crime that he had suffered through the policy of the Jewish national home. The riots were provoked by mendacious stories that Jews had attacked the Mosque of Omar with bombs and slaughtered Moslems in Jerusalem; they had nothing whatsoever to do with land, immigration, or other economic questions, nor were they prompted by any feeling in regard to the political situation. The outbreak, say the Commission, 'was from the beginning an attack by Arabs on Jews for which no excuse in the form of earlier murders by Jews has been established.'

If there is a 'Tragedy of Palestine,' the victims are Jews, for ten years after the Mandate was conferred on Great Britain we find that the Government, so far from implementing the terms of the Mandate, has even gone to the length of violating them by ordering the suspension of Jewish immigration.

ISRAEL COHEN.

WOMEN POLICE

THE decision recently announced that the number of policewomen in London is to be increased has again brought to the forefront this much-discussed question. Women police have now become a recognised item in modern police organisations; but there is no subject in the whole circle of police work upon which more uncertainty of outlook prevails than upon this subject of the employment of women. The uncertainty touches mainly the question of duties, but also to some extent the question of status. The subject has been considered by two departmental committees, and also, *obiter*, by the Royal Commission of 1928–29, and the last-named reported that the time is now ripe for a substantial increase in the number of women police. Resolutions and deputations from various bodies demand the same thing, but the precise nature of the *police* duties which the women are to perform is not wholly clear. It is to be remembered in this connexion that the police are not the censors of public morals; the verdict of the public on that point has of late been very definite. The duties of women police, so far as they have been definitely laid down, are as yet mostly of the ancillary order, and women, despite their attestation as constables, have not really inherited full estate in the service. The problem hangs thus, unresolved.

The first point to consider is the real nature of police duty; and an obvious initial disability of women for such work must be faced.

I. THE DISABILITY OF WOMEN

'Right lives by law and law subsists by power'—such is the legend under one of the frescoes in the main hall of the Old Bailey. Modern government, though based upon consent, must command the means of coercion. It would cease otherwise to be government. In this country, being the people that we are, we can ordinarily depend for coercion upon the mere muscle of stalwart men, and at most upon the wooden truncheon.

Failure to provide the muscular arm would instantly depreciate the credit of the law. For this reason a recruiting officer will not

pass a candidate for the police, be he never so well-groomed and well-read, unless he has the physical strength to uphold the fabric of government. Let the stripped candidate turn his back, extend his arms straight from the shoulders and then above his head. The ripple of muscle will be seen as he moves. If good muscle is not there, out goes the candidate. Sheer strength is essential. Advocates of the employment of women may naturally argue that the law is poorly enforced if it is enforced by mere fisticuffs, and that moral suasion in this enlightened age is infinitely better. There is not a doubt of it; the police well know the value of tact. At the same time, once the moral suasion has been entered on, there can be no halting or turning back if it does not succeed. Compromise is not possible; the will of the community must be flatly imposed upon the individual, whether he likes it or not. It is a situation to which an old saying of Nelson rather aptly applies: 'To negotiate with effect, force should be at hand and in a situation to act.' If the moral suasion of the police fails, as at times it must, force must be available, and must be used. A constable does not satisfy the legal requirements regarding his post [1] unless he is 'fit and able' to apply that physical force.

The police constable thus represents the physical power of the law, and women do not represent the physical power of the species. The radical disability on the part of ordinary women to act as constables is therefore obvious; a disability which no argument, so far, has in any way discounted. It may be, as held by the Departmental Committee of 1920, that the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act has removed any legal disability [2]; but no Act of Parliament can confer physical strength. The Committee of 1920 really put the thing in a nutshell: 'We do not think,' it said, 'that policewomen should be required to perform duties which necessarily involve the exercise of physical force and consequent exposure to physical danger.' Everyone would no doubt agree. But if women are thus admitted to be unfit for the fundamental duty of constables, why insist on calling them constables? The position produced is a false one, being mere make-believe. To speak thus is not to contend that women should form no part of the police service, but only to indicate that, if the facts are looked fairly in the face, a need to redefine the status of policewomen will be at once apparent.

[1] Metropolitan police constables must be 'fit and able' persons 'for preserving the peace, and preventing robberies and other felonies and *apprehending offenders against the peace.*'

[2] The view was based upon a pronouncement of the Secretary of State, who, however, was careful to add that 'the physical disqualifications of women for performing some of the most important duties imposed upon police constables remain the same as they were before the Act was passed.'

II. The Effect of Mechanisation

Clearly the problem of women's share in the police profession is not self-contained, but must be viewed in relation to the more general aspects of women's activities. The wider view helps to elucidate the immediate past, and is essential in estimating the future.

Miss Rose Macaulay focussed a whole fund of truth and humour into a scrap of casual conversation when she loosed the tongue of 'Mrs. Arthur' on the subject of journalism: 'Ed has to do it too,' said his mother. 'He mayn't describe a street accident without saying women were in it, and if they weren't in it he has to say they looked on. Haven't you, Ed?' It cannot be denied that just this impulse was in part responsible for the advent of the post-war policewomen. Women had to figure throughout the whole picture, the police included. In deference to the general doctrine of parity, they were subsequently also attested as constables in order to put them on a footing with men, the crucial point being thus ignored that the advance of mechanisation, which has put women on terms with men in so many other fields, has not done so in the case of police work.

The broad fact of the moment in the world at large is that the male genius has recoiled upon itself; men have proved themselves too clever by half. Male genius has reduced most processes that were coarse and arduous to a matter of machinery, controlled by the pressing of a button; and woman at that point has seen her opportunity. Once the button has been provided, woman has been prompt to point out that she can press it just as well as a man can. A woman aviator of late flew alone over continents. Obviously the whole thing was a dazzling triumph of male genius. This world of ours, once all matted over with forest and full of savage monsters, has been explored and mapped out by generations of tough male creatures, myriads of whom were sacrificed in the process. The seas were explored and charted by whipcord males of the type who could furl sails, stiff with ice and gone mad in a hurricane, on black nights off the Horn, aloft there on the footropes of a swinging yardarm. And God knows how many of them perished! Then travel, primitive at first with its camel caravans and wind ships, was gradually mechanised by steam, electricity, petrol. But holocausts of male victims had been levied in every field before the dainty aeroplane had been devised, with everything in a nutshell. The problem of transit has, indeed, been solved: a woman already can travel alone; next it will be a child, or a robot.

As in travel, so in warfare. Lady Rhondda was reported a

year or so back to have said that in the next war women wi be conscripted. It may be. Battleaxes, calling for iron muscle are not now used; male genius has mechanised all that. We do these things delicately now by the touching of triggers, or by electrically loaded machines that kill at a dozen miles; and there are no doubt many parts that women could play. Even to-day, however, in fields where mechanisation is not complete women as a whole do not so simply follow in the wake of men though individuals may do so. When the Rye lifeboat was lost, with its complete crew of nineteen men (who left behind them a small hamlet populated by widows and children), the Lifeboat Institution was asked whether a new boat would be installed. The answer was unequivocal: 'We could not get a crew. *The men have gone.*'

The police service, like the lifeboat service, is a field of activity where mechanisation is not complete. It is true that, with their motor transport, wireless, automatic traffic signals and so forth, the police are making progress in that direction. But machinery cannot as yet supersede muscle; the way has not yet been sufficiently smoothed for women to discharge full duties. Much has been done towards smoothing it. A hundred years ago, judging from the behaviour then observed, women constables would have run a very fair risk of being stripped naked and tied to gate-posts, for male creatures did that sort of thing a hundred years ago, and man is a great brute as well as a great genius. Honest male muscle has curbed the baser orders since then; and, even in this mechanised age, male muscle remains the physical power of the law.

III. Reciprocal Service

The Committee of 1924 recorded that some witnesses, 'especially those who advocate the employment of women on terms equal in all respects to those of the men,' considered it necessary that the women should become constables. The fact, as already shown, is that the terms are not equal: women are not recruited by the same standards as men, nor for the same duties. The general question of female employment is much influenced at the moment by women's recent proposition of sex equality—a claim not based upon super-cultivation of women's hereditary sphere, but upon suffrage and a general emulation of the work hitherto discharged by men. Considering the radical disparity of the sexes, the proposition of equality is likely to be about as useful as an attempt to prove precise equality between a locomotive and its permanent way, or between a house and garden. Obviously each sex is supplementary to the other; they are built to co-operate. The heavy burden of child-bearing falls

exclusively upon the woman, and it is a burden in regard to which man cannot help her. But man, differently built, offsets the burden by shouldering tasks not fit for woman, and the physical enforcement of the law is probably one of them.

A relevant point is the extreme suddenness of the present phase of women's activities, and the precipitancy of recent sex legislation. The village conclave of primeval man was the first social institution from which the complex institutions of modern life have sprung, and its lineal descendant in England is our own House of Commons. Ten years ago women had no direct voice in electing that chamber; to-day their voice preponderates over that of men. A complete reversal in ten years, after a history of ten thousand, may be well enough; but it takes one's breath away just a little. For the establishment of permanent social reform the 'inevitability of gradualness' is a recognised principle; it is also a commonplace to say that true evolution does not proceed *per saltum*. A 'jump' so sudden as this must certainly mean extreme instability in the future. As regards female employment, the chances are that the phase of the moment will not last; the mimetic impulse will exhaust itself, and women, with their new intellectual activity, will begin blazing their own new trails in wholly original directions. The modern ideas of equality, interchangeability, and competition are quite likely to subside as rapidly as they have arisen. Disparity, partnership, and co-operation are the old root ideas which are pretty sure to remain.

In the meantime, women's entry into the 'world's work' is a fact; and, from the point of view of the community, everything depends upon how that new accession of strength is to be applied. If women are content to work on men's lines, their advent is not of much consequence except to themselves, the accession representing merely so many additional units. If, on the other hand, women enter as women and remain distinctive and original, then the accession represents a totally new factor, likely to prove of quite unprecedented value. It may gratify the individual woman to take on a job which a man can do; it is likely to help the State a great deal more when she takes on a job that a man cannot do.

In that light the problem presents itself in regard to the police, Even if women were much fitter than they are for men's duties. the police service would gain no benefit by recruiting them unless the supply of men had run dry. But if, on the other hand, the police service can get women who really are women, and will bring the independent outlook and shrewd counsel which a sensible wife brings to her husband, then, indeed, the service may benefit exceedingly.

IV. The Present Problem in the Police

It seems clear that (1) a proportion of women will be available to help man in fields which had hitherto been exclusively his; that (2) the police service will undoubtedly be the richer if it can really absorb women, acquiring with them the separate standpoint and solid wisdom of their sex; but that (3) if women are to be usefully absorbed into the police service, they must be taken on as women, and not, so to speak, as imitation men.

At present the only regular door of entry to the police is as constable, and for the full duties of a constable women, as already indicated, are not fit candidates. Auxiliary duties, such as attendance on female prisoners and (sometimes) the taking of statements, are things that patently belong to women. But more than that is wanted; a sure footing in the general organisation must be obtained. For the logical admission of women two alternatives only are open: the first is to cease calling them constables, and the second is to redefine the qualifications of constables. The latter is probably the better alternative. It is here that the real difficulty lies. The difficulty is, in fact, part and parcel of a very wide police problem, a problem which involves the whole machinery of police organisation.

There can be little doubt that the organisation of modern police (a very young institution) is in an elementary and undeveloped condition as yet. Much, were this the time and place, might be said on that head; for immediate purposes it is enough to notice that at present the police constable, as a basic unit, appears to be deemed the only possible one. In London it is the rule, outside the Mounted Branch, the Public Carriage Branch, and Thames Division, for all uniform constables to be general practitioners in police work. Male constables are not, as a rule, highly educated; it is not expected that brains will be their strongest suit. Generally speaking, countrymen make the best constables—men taken from the tail of the plough. The task of turning such material into fit agents for the enforcement of the whole complicated law of England is a stringent one. No one, indeed, is more conscious of this than an official who has been in turn recruiting officer and staff officer. It is a chastening thought —when looking over the shoulder of some candidate whose physique and type are eminently good, and watching his crabbed caligraphy—to visualise in fancy the volumes of the public general statutes and the vasty aggregations of statutory orders and regulations! This man is the man who has to enforce them. It is a chastening task, also, to seek to resolve portions of that complex mass into terms which young constables can absorb and administer.

From that problem, it is probably true, there will never be

any effective escape; but it is probably not less true that the exclusive reign of the 'general practitioner' will not last for ever. While the police constable will remain the backbone of the service, he may before long be partially relieved by specialists, some of whom even may not be given his omnibus training. Objection to the creation of a body of traffic constables (trained *ad hoc*, without being put through the whole course) is partly based on the ground that a traffic constable might at any time be called on to perform any duty belonging to an ordinary constable, and he must not be found wanting. There is no reason why he should be found wanting: the special constable, much used already as an emergency substitute, has been able to play his limited *rôle* with real success. This prejudice is a survival of that impulse towards superficial uniformity which led, some thirty years ago, to the swearing-in of skilled engineers and carpenters to be responsible for the mechanical work upon the police launches in the Thames Division. That phase has passed; a reverse process has already begun of substituting clerks, mechanics, motor drivers, and other workers for police employed otherwise than on the true duties of officers of the peace. The process thus begun may well eventuate in a system of suiting the agent to the task. Traffic constables, women constables, and others may be as clearly differentiated from police constables as park constables and railway constables already are. Their attestation would be of a separate and different order. Working upon those lines, the difficulty of admitting women on a sound and logical basis would disappear and the present system of make-believe would be terminated.

It remains to discover the duties upon which women can exercise their own distinctive abilities. The question still perplexes even the most sympathetic observers; the perplexity was obvious throughout the Report of the Departmental Committee of 1924, and the Royal Commission has not finally resolved it, the subject being largely (it was found) beyond its terms of reference. The straight answer to the question is that the problem will not be adequately solved until it is solved by women, and by women alone. Men with long experience will be at hand to advise and co-ordinate; but the impulses must come from women only. And women cannot effectively work out their ideas from an armchair, but only from the streets, the police courts, the public-houses, the gutters, the slums. It would not be a case of employing 'teachers, nurses and women of university training' merely to carry out specified duties; the women would be expected, while carrying out duties already specified (*and no more*), to be bringing their minds constructively to bear, all the time, on the problem as a whole. The plan would certainly have its troubles; but then, after all, police work is mostly trouble. It may be

necessary to employ women almost unproductively for some long period, but, if full results are to accrue, it must be done. There must be no haste in this matter, save haste to make an effective start.

Advocates of the employment of women in the police have been apt to put themselves in the wrong, on existing standards, by confounding welfare work and police work. The point has been much discussed. Welfare work, immensely important as it is, is not at present regarded as police work. None the less, the instinct that reaches out in that direction may be a sound one. Under Blackstone's definition of the 'public police and œconomy' welfare work might, of course, easily be included; and the question may indeed become a living issue before long. The 'deterrent' effect of women in uniform is stressed by the Royal Commission, and an extension of their activities may well help to bring nearer the day when 'the individuals of the State, like members of a well-governed family, are bound to conform their general behaviour to the rules of propriety, good neighbourhood and good manners, and to be decent, industrious and inoffensive in their respective stations'—that being the true result of police regulation as envisaged by Blackstone.

The prime need of the moment is to obtain women of adequate mental calibre, and to have them out and about, assessing police problems from every angle at first hand. 'The vinegary spinster and blighted middle-aged fanatic,' to whom Sir Nevil Macready alluded, are perhaps figures of fiction rather than a factor of serious danger in this or any other field of women's work to-day. 'Broad-minded, kindly, sensible' women would be obtained. But women with the devotion, and the vision, of pioneers are at this stage needed; lesser women can follow when the paths have been made straight for them. To begin with lesser women will merely mean that the old mimetic lines will be followed. Recruitment of women for this purpose should not, for obvious reasons, follow the lines of male recruitment. Women should be recruited without any regard to their fitness for a 'rough-and-tumble'; they should often be taken as finely bred and intellectual as may be, subject only to their possessing a physique adequate to withstand the exposure to weather. The duty of the woman constable, faced with some male (or female) bully bent on mischief, would be to retire undamaged, just as a frigate was duty-bound to fly from a four-decker. The simile is old-world, but it cannot be rendered in modern terms, because mechanisation has supervened and the weaker now has torpedoes. In case, in that connexion, it should be contended that women could similarly overcome their physical handicap by resort to jiu-jitsu, the idea must be scotched at once. Violence begets violence. Jiu-

jitsu practised by women, though triumphant at the moment, would lead to female skulls being cracked from behind by male bullies in ambush. *Punch* made a joke of it when the woman candidate, on being questioned, said that she would 'call a policeman.' That, in fact, would be her literal duty.

It is already known in the police service that, apart from what they may be able separately to accomplish, women can at times usefully co-operate with male colleagues in matters of inquiry and observation. The Criminal Investigation Department also forms an important field. The practice of recruitment of men for the Criminal Investigation Department in the Metropolitan Police is to draw them from the vast field of selection offered by a force of 20,000 men, thus obtaining the men who, under police conditions, have shown sufficient aptitude. The plan answers admirably, and is probably better than a system of direct recruitment from unproved material outside the force A similar (if smaller) field of selection among women is wanted, women who can be watched and assessed under police conditions before being absorbed for work of criminal investigation. This is already done in a small way. Although, on the one hand, the field of work open to women in the police is likely, for reasons already stated, to be a very limited one, that field, on the other hand, offers singular opportunities to the protagonists of women's work. Its problems are the primitive and enduring ones of ordinary humanity; and women do not start subject to the prodigious juniority which is theirs in the long-descended and expert sciences; they can 'start fair,' so to speak.

The all-important point is that women should be the architects of their own house, that they should be, *within the strict limitations imposed by realities*, the arbiters of their own activities. In police work it will be no case of easy platform triumphs; it will be a matter of solid and inconspicuous work at foundations, right out of sight. Educated women of the type who are ready to sacrifice themselves for a cause, and to work without notice or name, are not lacking in this country. Here is their opportunity.

If thus, in place of the rough-and-ready affiliation of women to men's institutions which is taking place elsewhere, the police service can absorb and employ its women on women's own lines, the result should be pre-eminent.

V. Conclusion

To sum up, the general position is this:

At the present time the public asks for women police, and the police service must react adequately to the demand. On survey of the situation it seems that certain difficulties exist.

The first difficulty is that constables represent the physical strength of the law, and physical strength is not the *forte* or *métier* of women. Women not possessed of the physical strength are not really placed on a footing with men by mere attestation; they are simply placed on a footing that is false. To deal in make-believe is no help to anyone—it serves only to damage a good case. The whole idea of parity is in this connexion a false one, and should be jettisoned at once. Women police are a branch recruited by different standards and for different problems from men, and their real value only accrues when they act distinctively as women. They should therefore stand on a sound and separate footing of their own, and not falsely on an imitation footing for which they are not qualified. This difficulty is easily obviated, if there is the courage to face the fact.

The second difficulty is that, after ten years' experience of women police, it cannot be clearly seen (welfare work apart) how women are to be employed, on the uniform side, otherwise than in the ancillary offices which were already being assigned to women before the war—namely, in effect as matrons, assistants, and so forth. The scope of these duties has been extended, but not really changed.

After all, however, it is not to be expected that the problem of women's future can be solved by men, however experienced, or even by intellectual women who have not had close touch with normal police work at first hand. A women's service, to be really adequate, must be designed as well as conducted by women. In order, therefore, that the public demand shall be met and the problem shall be adequately solved, the time has arrived when thoughtful and zealous women should have the opportunity of assessing the position at first hand over a considerable period, and of building up a true women's service in the same way as men have built up their own services. In this connexion it is only to be expected that, among other things, the much-discussed question of the border-line between police and welfare work will be once more revived. In any event, the problem of women's employment in the police should, as a result, be brought very definitely nearer an eventual solution.

H. Alker Tripp.

MODERN TENDENCIES IN EXPLORATION

The traditional explorer was an individual; the modern explorer is an expedition. Discovery is rarely an object, and never the sole object, of the new explorer, whose aim is the exploitation of the scientific or the commercial possibilities of comparatively untouched ground. No treatment of the subject can ignore this modern reorientation; already the old-fashioned solitary adventurer is beginning to share the false glamour of the highwayman and the knight-errant; in a few years he will be dead.

It is not difficult to trace the reasons for the change. Explorers are the eyes and fingers of science; while science remains in an elementary stage, busy cataloguing the more striking products of the earth, any man hardy enough to penetrate into fresh regions can bring back with very little extra trouble collections which will appear satisfactory. In the same way, while a large part of the earth remains unknown to white men, any sort of sketch-map or compass traverse is a contribution to geography. From such poor scraps industrious experts soon produce a sort of order, so that indiscriminate collecting of facts and specimens is no longer of much service; work in the field becomes a question of filling in gaps and resolving uncertainties. The prestige attaching to this occupation, the excitement of the stay-at-home specialists as each problem is cleared up, and the growing scarcity of fresh worlds to conquer, lead to a pronounced concentration on such well-defined tasks. Explorers no longer able to gain serious applause by wandering at their own sweet will jostle one another in their efforts to be the first discoverers of new species of plants and animals, of unknown mountains and islands, and the sources of great rivers. It is notable that at this stage the explorer has already ceased to be a free agent, bringing back what he pleases to a receptive and uncritical scientist; already he has come to be simply the scientist's roving henchman. Under such direction, and the stress of competition, the phase rapidly passes; major problems of geography and distribution are cleared up in quick succession; science, having established its broad outlines, subdivides itself to an astonishing extent, turning to questions of function and detail whose solution

by the untrained traveller is no longer possible. Starved of the data they require, and tiring of valueless specimens without precise information and of vague reports which miss the point at issue, the stay-at-home specialists are themselves forced to take the field in order to learn what they want. The old-fashioned museum systematist begins, like the adventurous explorer who worked for him, to be superseded by a new type which is to combine the function of both. Younger men with wider outlook and a determination not to be at the mercy of inadequate observers band together in brief expeditions which descend as well-equipped raids on areas of scientific importance at the moment. Once the trained specialist has taken the field the untrained adventurer is doomed.

It is easy from these generalisations to fix the stage which we have at present reached. The process just outlined is by no means complete. There are still isolated subjects, such as entomology, where in many parts of the world purely indiscriminate collecting justifies itself, just as there are still territories, like the South Arabian desert, part of Matto Grosso, and the polar regions, of which even the sketchiest maps and descriptions would still be of value. Again, in the second phase there are still many points to be cleared up over which the untrained man can for one reason or another compete successfully with the specialist. But for the greater part of the earth's surface we have definitely come to the third and apparently final stage where only well-equipped parties of trained investigators can materially improve upon what has already been done.

The fundamental changes in exploration to which this development is leading us are only just becoming clear. In the first place, exploration becomes institutional. The old-fashioned amateur would usually be able to finance himself or live upon the country; the modern expedition, consisting of more or less poverty-stricken young scientists, is rarely in a position to do either. Therefore it must raise funds from outside, and in order to do so it must be based on a plan which will stand criticism and tied to an institution which will provide some sort of guarantee of the plan being carried out. This is one of the main reasons why a modern expedition is as a rule sent out, at any rate nominally, by a university, a national museum, a learned society, or even by the State itself. Private expeditions, unless their personnel inspires exceptional confidence, have to find their own funds. This question of finance is, in fact, the most serious that the ordinary modern expedition has to face; it is not likely to meet any such severe obstacle in the field. In America, where rich men are not necessarily mean, the private donor enables research parties to be properly, often even extravagantly,

uipped; in Great Britain, where money has to a large extent ɔt into the hands of a class which does not know how to spend either in public or in private, a few inadequate endowments nd one or two small funds derived from the State are all that e have to fall back upon. Although the Empire Marketing oard has in one or two cases subsidised expeditions, it certainly nnot be regarded as a source of help even for those with a ore or less economic objective. In fact, unless the aim is purely ectacular, scientific and other considerations being completely bordinate, the odds are very heavily against an expedition eing able to raise funds to the extent of more than 1000*l.* And en this princely sum will not come in one or two large blocks hich the expedition can count on; it will have to be scraped up a dozen or more quarters, and its extraction will waste more of e organisers' time, unless they are very fortunate, than it is ssible to devote to the actual preparations for the field. In ddition, of course, they will usually have to haggle to the last enny for reduced passages and cheap or free transport, and write egging letters for gifts of stores and equipment which research this country is too poor to be able to afford. A deficit may ve to be cleared off by the sale of exclusive Press rights to me newspaper which will demand, and if necessary concoct, nsational accounts quite out of keeping with the spirit of modern ientific exploration, which regards unnecessary hardships merely evidence of faulty organisation and adventures as a sign of competent leadership.

There is hardly a single newspaper in the British Isles which es not prefer a 'stunt show' of the most glaring kind to expedition of scientific interest; few, in fact, will print tails of any serious investigation at all, and in general the eal explorer, from an editorial standpoint, is the mono-aniac who sets off with a small party into the wilds, and er months or years of quite unnecessary privations perishes serably, as any competent authority could have foretold, ving a notebook of self-conscious fragments suitable for 'gut-g.' And this criticism is not to be countered by the assertion at reports sent back by scientific expeditions are invariably ll and unreadable; the fact is that work which would have tured prominently in the evening papers for several days if had been prematurely disclosed by a reluctant laboratory entist to a persistent metropolitan reporter will not be con-ered worth printing if it comes from an expedition in the field, cause to the editor, and through him his public, 'expedition' ngs up visions of disasters, hardships, friction with savages, d, in fact, of everything which any well-regulated expedi-n can and should avoid. So long as this idiotic conception

of expedition news, deliberately fostered by the old-fashioned explorers for their own glorification, is retained by the Press, expeditions in general must take their choice between raising an appreciable sum out of their news communications and the luxury of not being misrepresented on a grand scale. Some expeditions have resorted to making a cinema film as a means of revenue; it rarely succeeds. Lecturing is not likely to be much good unless the work has been unusually spectacular and there is a member available for it who can do it well; much the same applies to the issue of an account in book form. On the whole the chances are against enough money being raised by these expedients to cover the cost of getting the scientific results published in the appropriate periodicals with adequate illustrations and maps. The obvious alternative of raising funds from the personnel is full of difficulties; it does not always happen that those whom it is most essential to have in the party are able to put down large sums of money. The combination of grants and large payments by members is, in fact, in many ways undesirable; acceptance of official grants involves a programme of work which must not be neglected, and which is not likely to satisfy those who have put their hands in their pockets with a vague idea of having the time of their lives in the wide open spaces. I assume here that the large subscriber is not himself a scientist, because as a matter of experience scientists who can afford to give largely are too scarce to be taken into account.

The question of expedition finance has been discussed in some detail in order to show how unsatisfactory the present position is. To sum up, it is out of the question for most qualified workers to undertake field research outside civilised areas without sacrificing a good deal of freedom by putting themselves under the auspices of some institution or learned body. That body will make several stipulations affecting the disposal of collections and so on, in return for which it will grant usually something like 50*l*. to 150*l*.; in rare cases as much as 600*l*. or so. You cannot charge it with parsimony; after all, it disgorges all it has. The organiser, therefore, will be faced with two distinct problems—to make the necessary arrangements for successfully attaining the object of the expedition and to find the funds to enable the idea to go forward. I have put the arrangements first, but of course in practice the funds have to come first, and the organiser finds himself for several months in advance engaged in a desperate struggle to put the scheme on a sound financial footing, wringing money and backing by driblets out of bodies meeting on rare and inconvenient occasions to dole out the absurdly small sums at their disposal with more or less incompatible conditions attached. It is not hard to realise what a

ippling effect this struggle is likely to have upon the actual ork of the expedition. In the first place, unless the organiser wealthy and prepared to stake a good deal, it is for months npossible for him to guarantee that the plan will be realised, nd in the meantime he stands to lose indispensable personnel ho cannot hold themselves available indefinitely. Then, until sufficient sum has been raised, it is not possible for him to enter ito large commitments for stores, equipment or transport. herefore equipment which takes some time to make for specication cannot be set in hand till the last moment, so that there not enough time to test it and have any necessary alterations iade before sailing. Similarly, it is impossible to arrange charters t foreign ports, or local transport where this is needed, until many ionths after the plan of the expedition has been settled.

There is no longer any question of the value of the work done y university and museum expeditions of the type I have in iind. All progressive Colonial Governments attempt to maintin a skeleton scientific staff to deal with their special problems i medicine, entomology, botany and so on. But these staffs re too small and too much tied down by routine to undertake ir-reaching research, with certain conspicuous exceptions such s the tsetse investigation in Tanganyika. An expedition, on ie other hand, brings out for a limited period a batch of highly ained men, few of whom could possibly have undertaken such ork by themselves, or have absented themselves from England or any longer time, ready to tackle definite problems armed with ie most up-to-date methods and a familiarity with related data. the expedition visits British territory it can very usefully o-operate with the local staff, who on their side are able by their nowledge of prevailing conditions to be of the greatest value to ; if, on the other hand, its field of operations is outside the mpire, it cannot help being in a region more or less similar to me part of the Empire where its results may fruitfully be pplied. This is true particularly of expeditions with a biogical or geographical object.

The conclusion to which this inevitably leads us is that hile the new intensive exploration is work of international iportance, forming the basis for the medical and economic nquest of many undeveloped parts of the world, no provision hatever has been made, privately or publicly, for the altered iaracter and scale of expeditions and the breakdown of the aditional means of financing them. The organiser is confronted ith the assumption that a suitable personnel can be recruited om persons collectively able to bear the entire cost of the pedition—an assumption which was never true but has only tely become hopelessly untenable. He is accordingly forced

either to give up or seriously to curtail the expedition, or to ek out funds with a most uneconomic expenditure of time and worr from a variety of sources whose meagreness is their only commo quality.

The result of these unnecessary obstacles at the home end naturally crippling. In many cases where good work might t done no organiser capable of surmounting them is found an the idea is allowed to drop. Even then it is still a case of th survival of the fittest—organisers, that is to say, not the scientifi staffs attached to them—for the sum total of funds available to t tapped for such work in the British Empire is hardly enough t keep more than one first-rate expedition in the field at a time occasional special efforts by universities and the State excepted No improvement seems probable until it becomes generall realised that scientific exploration is not merely something apart an amusement for academic minds, but an indispensable accom paniment, and usually even an indispensable preliminary, of an further turning to account of the world's resources. Once tha is admitted—as all Governments and large companies tacitl do admit it where their own interests are affected—it become obvious that scientific exploration neither can nor should b supported by the sparse guineas of the faithful or by the handfu of insignificant endowments existing. Scientific work carried o with considerable discomfort in remote parts of the world cannot in other words, be run on the same lines as a scheme for givin slum children a day in the country; it is not a charity, but a definite and often vital service to business and governmen development, for the maintenance of which business and Govern ments ought to contribute. It is not necessary to go into detai here on the form which such a scheme of support should take but for the sake of example it may be suggested that somethin like the levy on bales of cotton imported which was raised in the interests of Empire-grown cotton might be applied by mutua consent to all such industries as rubber, fur, cotton, oil, timbe and the like, which obviously stand to gain from the results o scientific exploration. On this basis all important firms concerned might contribute something to a central fund, the Government giving pound for pound or on some other agreed basis, and the allocation of grants being administered by some representative and authoritative body like the existing but hopelessly poverty-stricken Government Grants Committee of the Royal Society. Such a scheme would do away with both the very simple defects of the present time—first, that there is practically no money available, and, second, that its disbursement is in too many hands. The necessity for proving that any projected expedition had a competent personnel, a desirable object, and

satisfactory chance of attaining it would remain unaltered. ıe fund would be available for scientific work in the field without ınecessary limitations, at the discretion of the committee—for ɔlogy, medical research, archæology, geology, topography and ırveying, meteorology and so on, whether by individuals or by ;peditions; and the circulation to all its subscribers of an annual port on work done under its auspices would be of service both science in outlining the general trend and showing up the gaps ıd to industry in suggesting fresh points of application for the ıdings of research.

I have perhaps harped too long on this financial starvation, ıt not, I think, more than it deserved; for any scientific explorer is not the tiger in the jungle, the polar bear on the pack-ice, the snake in the undergrowth which are wild beasts to worry ›out, but only the wolf at the door.

Another modern tendency in exploration, although less ndamental than the change from the private party or individual the official or semi-official expedition, is probably more trusive—the development of mechanical aid. Formerly white ɜn were content in penetrating uncolonised regions to make e of whatever facilities had been developed by the natives in ɜ way of sledges, dug-outs, mules or human bearers, as the case ght be, bringing from their own world only such items as ɜarms and medical supplies. But native transport, diet, and on are rarely more advanced than native medicine or weapons, d of this no one is more readily convinced than the natives ɜmselves. Explorers of the old school, however, dislike the lgar intrusion of cars and aeroplanes into their happy hunting-ɔunds, so that it is sometimes possible even now to see them eerfully setting out by the slow and troublesome prehistoric ɜthods in a region where the natives themselves, who have no ːh sentimental illusions, habitually travel by lorry or by motor at. But these, of course, are hopeless anachronisms; the ɔdern British expedition, generally speaking, will use the best ːhnical apparatus of every sort that it can beg from enlightened ınufacturers or scrape up enough money to buy, just as the ɔdern American expedition, acting in the same spirit, will use ɜ best apparatus obtainable.

A few points in this connexion are worth bringing up. First all, time. Nowhere is the new ratio which mechanical transport ː established between time and distance so striking as in ɔloration, where (even when the final stage requires the oldest methods still) an immense mileage has often to be covered fore the jumping-off place is reached. To the leisurely adven-'er who went for the journey's sake it was no handicap to steam thousands of miles at eight or twelve knots in order to start

up country on foot after a long pause to engage bearers. To the scientist who breaks off his work at home in order to get data on some particular problem loss of time is a different matter, and unless poverty makes it impossible to take advantage of them the great trunk airways which have lately been opened to Russia, Persia, India, South America, with those soon to be added for South Africa and Australia, will play a great part in enabling experts to work in regions where they could never have dreamed of going otherwise. Apart from this shortening of communications, which will soon have brought almost all possible expedition bases within a fortnight of London, there is the further great gain which may often be secured by taking out cars, lorries, motor boats and aircraft. For example, it takes ten days for the return trip from Georgetown in British Guiana to the Kaieteur Falls at the edge of the hinterland savannah ; a seaplane service, now planned by a British company in connexion with the West Indies traffic, could comfortably do it in a day. The same, of course, applies wherever there are severe surface obstacles like virgin forests, mountain ranges, swamps or rivers broken up by many rapids. Where there are no such insurmountable difficulties the cheaper and more reliable motor or motor boat transport is good enough. How valuable the use of modern methods may prove, not only to the expedition using it, but to trade and administration, is well shown by Roy Chapman Andrews' introduction of the motor car to the Gobi desert, which at once established motor transport as the normal local service, creating quite a respectable demand for cars and greatly accelerating communications.

The modern expedition using all possible means of reaching its destination without delay has, then, the advantage of saving time on a really useful scale, and of correspondingly raising the standard of personnel by making it possible to enlist specialists with a definite job at home who are likely to be much more able and efficient than the habitual wanderers and unemployed from whom recruits would otherwise have to be drawn. Another peculiar advantage in the case of university and some other expeditions is that it enables undergraduates to get some beginnings of a working knowledge of the conditions of research in countries off the beaten track, widening their outlook and attaching them to a pursuit which is not easily forgotten. The first striking display of this possibility was the series of Oxford University expeditions to Spitsbergen organised after the war by G. Binney ; from that pioneer effort has arisen a regular tradition of exploration work both at Oxford and Cambridge, harnessed in the first case by the Oxford University Exploration Club, which was started in 1928. During the last two years

ere have been official Oxford expeditions to (West) Greenland 928) and to British Guiana (1929), and unofficial, but equally ong, Cambridge parties to Labrador (1928) and East Greenland . the Azores (1929), all with geographical or biological objects. most of these cases there has been an undergraduate majority, : the quality of the work done has by no means suffered from in fact, where a capable leader is to be found, a party composed :irely of undergraduates and young graduates will do at least good work with a minimum of friction as one made up of a ater mixture of ages. Oxford in Spitsbergen and Cambridge Edge Island have shown what can be done by enterprising lergraduate leadership; nevertheless, bodies which make nts have a congenital preference for middle age.

But it is not difficult to see how modern conditions, while nensely extending the convenient striking range of the plorer and raising his standards of accuracy, have at the same e tended to fetter movement. To send an expedition to a note part of the world purely for the study of ethnology or collection of fossils is obviously wasteful; alert organisations : the Royal Geographical Society recognise this by making a nt of attaching a surveyor or geographer at their own expense erever there is a reasonable possibility of his proving useful. : then if all expeditions took out a representative of each ly for which scope was likely to be found they would include anists, zoologists, ornithologists, fresh-water biologists, :eorologists, geologists, archæologists, anthropologists, soil mists, topographers, surveyors, photographers, artists, and ozen or two more, so that with the addition of a doctor and stants, such as hunters, mechanics, taxidermists, cooks and on, the party would become much too large to travel far over eveloped territory. And, although things do not in practice ch this logical conclusion at present, it is undoubtedly one of chief problems of a modern expedition to exploit its opporities sufficiently without growing so large as to forfeit mobility. oubling' of parts is no solution at all; even if it proves sible to secure, for instance, a doctor who is also a competent ogist, a tolerable cook, and capable of taking all necessary tographs, the false nature of the economy will not be long naking itself felt in the field, and all the activities involved be the worse for it. Only very clearly part-time jobs can loubled with impunity; and the spectacle which has somees been seen of a first-rate scientist being employed as expedicook when every moment was precious for observation in short arctic summer is not creditable to the organisation. same trend which forces the enlistment of specialists who are ilable for short periods only dictates the provision of all

possible mechanical and human aid to enable their time to be employed to best advantage—namely, of course, in research of the particular type for which they have been chosen. Thus there is a logical justification for a system, partly realised on the Oxford Spitsbergen and Greenland expeditions, which divides the party into two distinct classes—the pure scientists who are out for scientific results, and nothing else, on the one hand, and the leader with his henchmen on the other, who are primarily responsible for getting the party on to the chosen field of operations and maintaining it there in all necessary ways, using their spare time in more or less adventurous geographical excursions. There must, however, in almost any large expedition be another cross-division within these two classes, one section being attached to a base camp within convenient reach of rail head or water transport, where the bulk of the stores can be dumped in conditions suitable for settled scientific work, and the other section operating from this base in one or more field parties. By this means the very unwieldiness of the expedition may be turned to advantage, providing a much larger and more comfortable base than any travelling party could hope for on its own, and giving scope for much stationary observation of the sort which in most branches of science has become indispensable, constant movement from one camp to another prohibiting anything beyond scrappy collections and vague impressions. Where the objective is a coast, large river, or group of islands a ship may serve the same purpose as a land base, with the extra advantage of mobility. The combination of flying boat and water-borne stores in support has been proved feasible in very difficult circumstances by the Hamilton Rice expedition up the Rio Branco.

Exploration, however incoherent and poverty-stricken, is gradually organising itself in order to be able to make full use of modern technical methods in a final attack on the now insignificant undiscovered world, and in a more detailed probing of the vast regions nominally discovered but for most practical purposes unknown. Exploration, however, is no longer an independent activity, even in the limited sense that it was independent between the age of the buccaneers and the twentieth century. It is, in fact, nothing more than a branch of the intelligence department of science, and a subordinate one into the bargain, differing from the laboratory in the essential fact that its results are not comparatively finite or self-contained, but represent on the whole a series of successful raids in search of raw material which has still to be digested. The condition of this digestive machinery is worth at least a passing glance, for clearly, unless its working is reasonably prompt and efficient, the exploration which feeds it will not assume any significance and will accordingly

be discouraged. And while exploration, as we have shown, has made some efforts to keep pace with modern conditions, the systematic machinery behind it, at least in such an important department as zoology (and to a less extent botany), has made remarkably few. It is notorious that certain of Darwin's collections have not been named yet by the specialists concerned, and protracted delays in identifying collections are normal rather than exceptional unless the collector is himself a systematist in a favourable position for pushing the work on. So long as the organisation for dealing with such collections consists largely of a number of isolated workers scattered over Europe and North America, unconnected with any museum or institution of the kind, this state of things seems likely to continue. Enlargement of the staff of the British Museum (Natural History) under the recent interim recommendations of the Royal Commission may help to ease the situation, but no attempt to rationalise exploration can succeed without tackling the problem of providing an efficient and reasonably rapid machine for getting all collections identified.

The spectacular age of discovery is probably within ten or twenty years of its close and the romantic individualist is already superseded, but exploration in a broad sense has never possessed more vitality, and will long outlive the crude mapping of the continents which alone used to interest it. Yet the task of reducing to order the nineteenth-century legacy of chaos is even more pressing in exploration than in other spheres; while the work, being at the same time ambitious and ancillary, is more open to injury by poverty and the disorganisation of systematists. It is useless for Oxford and Cambridge to make efforts, as they are doing now, to develop a school of explorers if the other interests which have been shown in this hasty survey to be equally essential to ultimate success in exploration fail to rise to the occasion. Exploration is a productive undertaking; it is also a matter of prestige. This country, which used to be the first in the world for discovery, is perceptibly falling behind, and not by any means through the fault of its explorers, whose qualities have never shown to better advantage than in a period when learning the significance of facts under difficulties has become more important than the mere collection of them.

E. M. NICHOLSON.

THREE UNPUBLISHED 'IMAGINARY CONVER SATIONS' BY WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR

In the spring of 1929, whilst resident in Florence, I had an oppor tunity of examining, through the kindness of my friend Mme Eleanor Manzioni-Landor, the granddaughter of Walter Savag Landor, some papers and other materials which were founc among the belongings of the latter after his death in 1864. Amon other things, I was happily surprised to find three hitherto unpublished and completely unknown *Imaginary Conversation* not inferior to the best of any of those imperishable master pieces.

The three Conversations are between: (1) *Andrew Marve and Henry Marten*, (2) *Diogenes and a Citizen*, and (3) *Solon an Pisistratos*.

The manuscript of the first Conversation was in such conditior that there could be little doubt that it was a transcription mad from the original composition, for it is written out in a compara tively legible hand, and without any corrections or emendation. From a study of Landor's handwriting I am inclined to put th date of this transcription at about 1855–1860. There are certair fine evidences in the second Conversation between *Milton an Andrew Marvel*, first published in the *Athenæum* in 1862, whicl would indicate that it was written at about the same period a the *Marvel and Marten* Conversation. Altogether Landor pub lished four Conversations in which Marvell figures, three witl Milton (the first published in 1824, and the second and third ir 1862), and one with Bishop Parker which first appeared in 1846. It is interesting to note that Landor, who was somewhat of a faddist in matters of spelling, invariably, and incorrectly, write 'Marvel' for 'Marvell'; I should not think, however, that thi was more than an oversight.

Henry (or Harry) Marten (1602–1680) was a man much afte the heart of Landor. The son of Sir Henry Marten (1562–1641) the great advocate, he was educated at University College, Oxford

[1] A Conversation between *Andrew Marvel and Henry Marten*, with a simila opening to that which is here published, was included by Forster in his *Life o Landor*, 1869, and is to be found in vol. ii., pp. 584–586.

which he left with a B.A. for Gray's Inn. He made a marriage of convenience which turned out a failure, and as a 'gadabout' he soon acquired a reputation for fast and loose living. Aubrey, who is very fair, says of him, 'He was a lover of pretty girls, to whom he was so liberal that he spent the greatest part of his estate.' Charles, it is said, had him thrown out of Hyde Park. In 1639 he made himself very popular by refusing to subscribe towards the loan raised for the Scottish war, and in 1640 he was returned to Parliament as one of the members for Berkshire. In August 1643 he was committed to the Tower for asserting that it was 'better that one family [the King and his children] should be destroyed than many.' He was released a fortnight later, but was not readmitted to Parliament until 1646. He was the most prominent and the most active of all in bringing Charles to his trial, and in the establishment of the republic. During 1656–1657 he was an inmate of Southwark Prison, whither his debts had brought him. Though not a statesman, he was a great parliamentarian, a ready and brilliant speaker, whose eloquence often won the whole House to his side, and whose wit often saved the life of an enemy. He was generous, sincere, and a defender of the weak; he expressed himself fearlessly and even recklessly; he was a hater of tyrants and tyranny in any form, and doubtless his activities in this latter connexion attracted Landor most to him.

On the return of Charles II., Marten gave himself up on June 20, 1660, in obedience to the King's proclamation to the 'regicides.' On October 16 he was tried at the Old Bailey and found guilty. In accordance with the terms of the proclamation, execution was, however, suspended, and he was imprisoned. In 1661 the Bill for executing the regicides passed the House. Marten's life, however, was to be spared, only to be spent until his death in prison. In 1665 he was removed from Windsor Prison, where he constituted 'an eyesore' to the King, to Chepstow Castle, where he died on September 9, 1680.[2]

The date at which this Conversation is supposed to take place is most probably between the years 1670–1675. Marvell died in 1678.

The Conversation between *Diogenes and a Citizen*, as found by me, was evidently the composition as originally written. So many alterations, erasions, interpolations, etc., had been made

[2] It should be noted that it is quite possible that Southey, who was the greatest friend of Landor and in correspondence with him until his (Southey's) death, first drew the attention of Landor to Marten. Southey visited Marten's prison and wrote a sonnet on him in which he speaks of Marten having been 'For thirty years secluded from mankind' in Chepstow Castle. This is an error; altogether Marten spent twenty years in prison, fifteen of which were passed in Chepstow Castle.

that at first sight it seemed quite impossible that anyone would be able to decipher more than the title. But by the grace of the Italian sun and the help of a magnifying glass I eventually succeeded in deciphering all but one word.

From Landor's own note it is to be inferred that he sent a copy of this Conversation to Browning, who very likely advised Landor not to publish in view of the probable misconstruction which would be placed upon the expressions relating to Tyrannicide. It was then that Landor might have added the reminder 'that Diogenes was without the light of Christianity.' Forster has attempted to explain away and negative Landor's views on tyrannicide, but no impartial student who yet loves his Landor can have any doubt that Landor, indeed, regarded this as one of the sublimest acts of which a man can be capable. Coluccio Salutati, one of the earliest and the greatest of humanists, so regarded it, and Bartolus, from a rational and legal-political point of view, also thus regarded it. I see no reason, therefore, why Forster's misguided kindness should be allowed to continue to obscure Landor's real sentiments in this connexion.

The date of the manuscript of this Conversation I would put at about 1860.

A Conversation in which Diogenes figures is that great critical masterpiece of the Platonic philosophy, *Diogenes and Plato*, which appeared in 1829.

The original manuscript of the Conversation between *Solon and Pisistratos* was in even worse state than the *Diogenes* manuscript, so that, though I flatter myself upon the achievement of having deciphered as much as I did of it, I fear that Landor's handwriting at more than one place has here defeated my every endeavour, with the result that there is more than one lacuna in the Conversation as it now sees the belated light. With the exception of these few lacunæ the Conversation is in an otherwise perfectly satisfactory state, and makes a welcome addition to the *Solon and Pisistratos* Conversation, which appeared in 1832. The passage in which Solon taxes Pisistratos with having changed the laws is to be found in a somewhat different form in the earlier Conversation; nevertheless, I do not think that its recurrence in the present Conversation was an oversight on the part of Landor, or that, not intending to publish the latter, he borrowed the passage and adapted it to the published Conversation. On the contrary, I believe that this passage is quite deliberate and would have been retained by Landor. Moreover, it is not improbable that Landor intended this Conversation to form the first part of the 1832 Conversation in some future edition of his *Works*. In subsequent editions of his *Imaginary Conversations* Landor made extensive alterations, very often introducing a prodigious amount

of new material and cutting out a good deal of the old. In the present case the unpublished piece makes a fitting 'first part' to the published Conversation, and the first words of Pisistratos at the opening of the latter a not inappropriate reply to Solon's last words at the conclusion of the former. Again, the Conversations can stand quite as well separately.

The manuscript of this Conversation I would date about 1860.

With these words it remains only to say that I have retained the spelling and punctuation of the manuscripts, and that I have added neither letter nor word to the original. But let me no longer stand between the reader and his pleasure.

ANDREW MARVEL AND HENRY MARTEN

MARVEL. How art thou, Harry?

MARTEN. You see *how* I am seeing *where* I am. Prisons are but indifferent conservatories of health.

MARVEL. Breezes from the Welsh mountains and from the estuary under this Chepstow castle have kept the colour fresh on thy cheeks.

MARTEN. Yes, when I mount the table and look out, they do me good, however I would exchange them willingly for the smoke of our city and the fogs of the Thames, but your good master will not strike a bargain with me.

MARVEL. Never sigh, my man.

MARTEN. Pleasure hath her sighs, tho' shorter than those of sorrow, and your presence hath brought them out.

MARVEL. Solitude too hath its comforts and its quiet hours; more peradventure of these than crowded cities have.

MARTEN. Exemption from imprisonment is all I wish.

MARVEL. Let us confidently hope this blessing is nigh at hand.

MARTEN. The chaplain of my castle told me the same story, and that none but the reprobate were hard of belief, when he saw me shake my head. Year after year hath rolled over it and only made it the heavier. Before the present hour, few have been so consolatory to me as one last summer. A sailor with a broken leg was singing under my casement a new song. It began *Ye gentlemen of England who live at home at ease.* It is something to hear that any are now living at ease in England, after fines and confiscations, and under French government, patriots in prison and priests in palaces. Fie upon me! I am running into alliteration like a splenetic poet. I too was envious in my own way. I envied my sailor of the broken leg, for he could walk about with half of it, wheras I with a pair in good plight must keep within the courtyard at furthest. Albeit our gracious king's Majesty has provided for my health and longevity in furnishing me, ad libitum, with wholesome bread and water.

MARVEL. Humour is not parcht up in thee, my pleasant Hal.

MARTEN. There are voices that can open a fresh spring in the barren rock; yours hath done it tho' it trickleth scantily. I can enjoy fun in a poet, not being one myself. Were I one, my smile might be awry and my lip blue. On yonder shelf, which is half-full of books to the amount of thirty, there is *Hudibras.*

MARVEL. What a prodigous power of thought is there in Butler; and even Bacon himself is scarcely more profound. Having a friend resident near Tewkesbury whither he invited me, I went to visit Butler in his little brick house between that town and Worcester, and took a salmon with me which had just been caught. I asked him whether he would receive a Roundhead, carrying the fish by a withy under the gills. He recognised me and shook me by the hand. I told him that the court had half converted me and that I could not conscientiously eat anything but fish, which I hoped he would permit me to partake with him. 'Luckily for you' said Sam, 'for there is nothing in the house beside eggs and bacon.' We dined jovially on the salmon to which the cider seemed to give an invitation. Salmon like venison and mutton, ought to wait a few days for the cook's summons, but we did our best with it.

MARTEN. Ah! how I should have enjoyed your conversation. Politics no wise man will talk about at dinner.

MARVEL. We did better. We avoided not only that topic but also the ordinary news of the day. Poetry was discufsed.

MARTEN. Ah! then I could have nothing to say, but I could listen, and should. Abraham Cowley was my *chokepear*. They called him metaphysical: does *metaphysical* mean *fantastical?* Waller pleased me better because I always knew what he was driving at.

MARVEL. His verses on Oliver are gentlemanly and musical, but they want the solidity and strength of Milton's.

MARTEN. I know so much about the matter as that. Butler I hear is a great favourite with the king, who reads *Hudibras* as willingly as the Bible.

MARVEL. Perhaps oftener. He has paid four groats for the poem, but has never paid one to the author, who is as poor as Job or as Milton. Alas, poor Milton! He lives solitary in a garden where no flowers can blow, and if they did he could not see them. Dryden, whom you may have heard of, threatened to rhyme the *Paradise Lost*, a poem of richer harmony than sequences of dactyls and spondees allowed to the Greek and Roman. Cowley, whom you perhaps remember, is lately dead. He dined with the Bishop of Rochester, got drunk, and died in a wet ditch.

MARTEN. I by the providence of the king's most religious and gracious Majesty, shall never die so, nor get drunk at the table of a Right Reverend. The Fathers in God are my godfathers, and are vigilant over me.

MARVEL. We may live to see better days yet, meanwhile let us live in the past.

DIOGENES AND A CITIZEN

DIOGENES. What seekest thou coming hither?

CITIZEN. A man, Diogenes, I left a few behind me.

DIOGENES. Here is one canst not carry back. Hast thou any work or occupation?

CITIZEN. I had lately: I was a soldier in our last battle.

DIOGENES. Thy country was then worth fighting for. Who taught thee thy duty?

CITIZEN. Demosthenes. The Agora was my schoolroom, the field my book.

DIOGENES. Thy master was wise and virtuous, no * * * and quibbler, like the long-robed and light-slippered who amble in groves and gardens.

Thee peradventure I may have patience to listen to and converse with; but my talk must be brief for I am hoarse, not by speaking much, but because I am out of practice. Be seated opposite to me. Mind! Mind! not upon that stone with the dry figleaves over it protecting my supper from the flies.

If thou hadst been among the idlers of yesterday thou wouldst not have come today.

CITIZEN. . . . I too am curious, yet I kept apart from them. Pafsing thro the streets along which they returned, the older, who could not follow them so far as to this place, inquired of everybody they met whether it was true or probable that the King of Macedon said that if he was not Alexander he would gladly be Diogenes.

DIOGENES. Did the fools wonder at a king? In saying so he thought to compliment me, as the folk's jargon call it. What could ever make Alexander my equal? He wants everything, I nothing.

CITIZEN. Let us hope that, now he has the power, he will render Athens prosperous and wealthy.

DIOGENES. Two widely different conditions. It is only the wealthy and prosperous that are subject to the pressure of calamity. Thou seemest old enough to remember the invasion of Sicily and so have been enrolled among the invaders. That island suffered much for her wealth, but lefs than her invader.

CITIZEN. Sad businefs! We lost a stout body of men.

DIOGENES. And nothing more? Ye lost your freedom with your equity. Ye never have been powerful since, and never have well deserved to be. Ye would perforce have other lands ignorant that it is more profitable to exchange ore for corn than blow for blow. When republics conquer other republics, kings finally conquer them. When two sparrows are victors down swoops the hawk and decides the contest for them. States can not firmly hold together. If communities are wise their only union will be temporary, and only against one that presumes to domineer and coerce, and such is the only union that can long exist. Smaller states may lend mutual support, but let them beware of adhesion to larger. Confederacies may exist when unions are dissevered. Where nations are dragged or abstracted too close, there is an end of enterprise and emulation.

CITIZEN. We may look forward from our lower condition to lefs of turbulence and discord in the city. And this benefit with perhaps some others, the Macedonian for his own benefit may confefs. He is about to invade Asia and probably will conquer that proud kingdom.

DIOGENES. Yea, and bring back an accumulation of all his pride. Shall your souls be the loftier for the pride he mourns or your bodies the stouter for the purple he tears off. Every people is, sooner or later, impoverisht by the spoilation of another. Our citizens well remembering what they suffered from the oriental despot, they now are running to implore the blefsings of an occidental. I have heard them shout vociferously at his horses heels. Even heads that had lately worn their helmets confronting him ignominously bowed.

CITIZEN. I beseech thee, O Diogenes! I beseech thee to withold such discourse from others.

DIOGENES. With others I am little inclined to hold any. A man who has fought for his country is worthy to hear it.

CITIZEN. There is danger in every word of it, for in every word there is truth.

DIOGENES. Never was there any danger for me. Death stands above danger and beyond. There are chains, and racks, I know, and other implements of torture in the dark store-room behind the treasury of palaces, but in many a field there is a blade of hemlock; and he must be an improvident herbsman who in weeding his corn, hath never for eventualities laid by a few ripe heads of poppy.

CITIZEN. Surely thou wouldst not anticipate the fatal hour.

DIOGENES. My honest friend, thou art no logician. The fatal hour never can be anticipated. Our sages tell us that it is 'rank cowardice' to fly from the evils of life, and they also tell us that it is 'rank cowardice' to stay an usurper. They have seen their young fellow-citizens maimed and mutilated, and thousand upon thousand times a despot, and have sung hymns to the despot that ordered it. He, it seems, is no murderer at all; the murderer is the solitary man who slays the million-slayer.

I never sang a note in my life, but I would go down into the street again to join the chorus on Harmodios and Aristogeiton on a similar occasion. The celebrated Theban never struck his lyre to a chaunt so animating or an exploit so grand. Tyrannicide is the sublimest act of humanity.* One right hand may achieve what legions fail to accomplish.

Macedon has deflowered Attica; may some brave youth avenge her! [8]

* It must be remembered that Diogenes was without the light of Christianity. Rulers, in our day, are under its humanizing influence east and west. *W. S. L.*

SOLON AND PISISTRATOS

PISISTRATOS. It rejoices me, O Solon to see thy venerable head once more among our citizens at Athens.

SOLON. I also am rejoiced, O Pisistratos, that there yet remain citizens in Athens.

PISISTRATOS. What should have removed them?

SOLON. When the laws were removed, they were.

PISISTRATOS. No indeed. The wise laws thou thyself ordainedst are extant.

SOLON. But merely at thy will and discretion. Some are modified. Some abrogated.

PISISTRATOS. Whatever I have done was done to please the people.

SOLON. It is well to please the people, it is better to improve them.

PISISTRATOS. Laws must occasionally be modified, and occasionally abrogated.

SOLON. Yes whenever time hath been given to demonstrate their insufficiency.

PISISTRATOS. I have made few alterations in them.

SOLON. Who gave thee authority to make any?

PISISTRATOS. My alterations were ratified by the people's voice.

SOLON. Alas! there is an instrument of soft and silver tones to which the people's voice is made readily to accord. Hath not this voice been

[8] Immediately beneath the line which Landor drew at the conclusion of this Conversation there follow the words: 'I have listened to many odes by many poets, some of whom were born in free estates, which poets were silent as dormice on the exploits of their bravest fellow citizens, and extolled successful Power.' (Sent to Browning.)

heard recently at Athens? Thou hast afsumed the supreme power against the statutes and institutions of thy country. I hardly know whether it is better for it that thou art gentle and humane. Substances and nations sink more readily than they rise.

PISISTRATOS. I would elevate the Athenians, I would never lower them. Greatly are they indebted to thee, Solon, for some of the more powerful means, which I also at the present time am employing.

SOLON. Pardon my ignorance, what are those?

PISISTRATOS. I am collecting and collating whatever can be recovered of Homer. Thou hast brought many parts from Crete, * * * by the * * * of the Cretans. These we have corrected from the little we could procure from Ionia. We have never been able to find the commencement of the Iliad. Homer invokes a Godefs: what Godefs? Evidently the Muse, whome he invokes at the opening of the Odyfsea. Neither of us has ventured to alter a single word in any verse. I wish the father of our poets had not said that Achilles,[4] in sending those thousands of souls to Hades, had not added that he gave the arms as well as the bodies not only to the dogs but to all the birds. Now surely there were many birds who would have declined the invitation to such a festival. It seems probable that instead of *πασι* there was a verb.[5]

SOLON. Such questions are likelier to afford thee greater satisfaction than any schemes of polity and ambition.

PISISTRATOS. I have none.

SOLON. Supreme power is never contented. Thou hast openly avowed thy love of peace. The people are happy but the happy are not always the most quiescent. There are rumours that thou wouldst enlarge the dominion of Attica. Beware! beware! Thou hast eyes which can see acrofs far lands, but those eyes may be dazzled by nearer objects, apparently tangible. It is the interest of no people to declare war against another, and no potentate is long the happier for the most successful. Republics split by repletion. So long as they are agricultural and commercial they retain their power, because their neighbours profit by their prosperity. The people of Judea were opulent thro' Tyre and Sidon, but they were both avaricious and intolerant. They warred first against their nearest neighbours, because these had several Gods and they only one; and what in their opinion was worse, their lands were fertile and theirs lefs. Presently they siezed upon the sea coasts, which incursion brought against them Tyre and Sidon, and ultimately the kings of Egypt. These conquered them and led them into captivity, in which state they remained

[4] Landor has here forgotten that it was Homer, and not Achilles, who was speaking.

[5] In *Leigh Hunt's Journal* for February 15, 1851, Landor has a translation of the '*Beginning of the Iliad*:

Sing thou the anger of Achilles, muse,
Which brought a thousand sorrows on the Greeks,
Hurrying so many to the shades below,
While beast and bird prowl'd over corse and arms.'

In a note appended to these verses Landor says: '. . . A suspicion has sometimes risen in my mind, that Homer did not write the word *πασι*, but a verb. Certainly the dead bodies were not

To every bird and *every* beast a prey.

Many beasts and birds would let them alone.'

for many generations. At last they became so numerous, in a country already overpeopled, that a sagacious and politic, and a humane king connived at their flight beyond the Red-Sea. Their leader was also their Lawgiver. He carried with him all the wisdom he had acquired in Egypt. By degrees he purified it, instructing them in the worship of one only God, omnipotent and omnipresent. The worship of others was forbidden.

PISISTRATOS. Was this politic ?

SOLON. He believed that it was not only wise but the command of that God who had been his and their deliverer.

PISISTRATOS. Had they no ceremonials and festivals, no procefsions and hymns ?

SOLON. They had. The Lawgiver was likewise a poet, in his discourse he was eloquent as thou thyself art, and employed it to guide his countrymen aright. Fame followed him totally unsought and little heeded.

PISISTRATOS. Yet fame and glory are powerful incentives to great exploits. Why smilest thou ? Is it not true, or is it so true as to require no note ?

SOLON. When I was in Egypt I saw, in many temples, the images of Gods and Demons, above whose heads were circlets of gold which the priests and people in their peculiar language called *glories*. I thought it a strange and singular term for a thin piece of metal but not very inapplicable to the heads under it. We ourselves equally misuse the word *glory*. The only true and solid glory is that voluntary tribute which nations pay their benefactors, whether by raising their intellects in arts and sciences or by liberating them from an oppressor. *** *** *** that ambition leads to hostilities against the lands in the vicinity to Athens. Succefs would weaken thy people and ultimately demolish thy power. Kings rarely are wise but rarely are they so unwise as to hazard what they have whether *** *** or by popular grant. The race of Atreus is extinct. The noblest of it, Aulis ***, felt as many pangs as he inflicted. Let us not read Homer in vain.

PISISTRATOS. Our countrymen are pertinacious of their claim to Homer's birthplace.

SOLON. They have a right to much glory, but none to that. If Homer had been a citizen of Athens it would be ignominous to retain no copy of his poems. A few disconnected and scattered parts were all that was remaining in the city over which resides the Godefs of wisdom.

PISISTRATOS. I hazard not to give a positive opinion on the subject when it is askt of me by the inquisitive and learned.

SOLON. Nor could you satisfy them, nor could I. Attic is not the language of the Iliad and Odyfsea. Poets have a *** of their own, collecting as princes do their watches from many quarters. Homer was certainly an Asiatic. His partiality to that country is evident in the characters he has given of its chieftains, of Priam, of Hector, of Glaucos, and Sarpedon. At what period, or whether, he wrote the Odyfsea is uncertain. Its morality is lefs admirable than its poetry. His hero is a thief. But so are all heroes if they are successful. Believe me, Pisistratos, there is more courage and resolution in abstinence than in seizure and occupation. Falsehood is always bad, but the worst when it is in action. No pofsefsor of inordinate power is guiltlefs of it. He throws the people down to rob them.

PISISTRATOS. Solon, let us be friends as formerly. Share power wi me.

SOLON. Willingly, on one condition.

PISISTRATOS. Speak it!

SOLON. When we have shared integrity.*

M. F. ASHLEY-MONTAGU.

* At the conclusion of this Conversation Landor has written the words *N inserted yet.*

ROLLING STONES

AMONG the rootless vagabonds I have known, Jack Smith was the most satisfying. There are many who would enjoy tramping in the summer—a lovely summer evening on a white country road. But on a wintry night, when the wind cuts into your spine, Jack was as gay as ever. The tall trees swaying over the path, the dark massed clouds moved him, touched some hidden chord. He tramped from choice as much as from necessity, though he was usually penniless. Many a time when he had a good job he would throw it up at a moment's notice, spend all his money the night before he left town, and go out upon the road.

'Why do you want to go?' his foreman once asked. 'Isn't the job good enough?'

'It's too good,' groaned Jack. 'Three meals a day and a bed every night. I can't stand it!'

He spoke of his rambles over England as the one part of his life which he had really lived. 'All the rest,' he said, 'are just dirty, grey patches.'

He was a hoarse little Cockney, with a toothbrush moustache and a stubbly chin, an untidy, likeable little man. He had a turn for public exhortation, varying from Hyde Park railings to pill-selling in market-places. He also made blacking and sold it, though I do not believe he ever used any. His friends knew him as the Westminster Demosthenes.

When he entered a town or a village his cracked voice and quaint humour assured his welcome. People competed to give him food and shelter, while the local cobbler regarded it as a privilege to mend his boots free of charge. His friend and close companion was a dark, curly-haired, pale-faced young man. Slim, neat, clean-shaven, he was a foil to the rough, unkempt, stocky build of the other. In a polished, elegant manner he would recite Oscar Wilde's *Ballad of Reading Gaol* outside the local publichouse. Oratory and pill-selling were his chief accomplishments. Among his speeches was one against old age. Gathering a crowd about the village cross, he would begin his indictment of the aged. 'These men,' he declaimed scornfully, 'who have lived to an indecent old age, who dodder about and get in everybody's way,

ould not be tolerated. Some of them even have whiskers!'— dropped his voice to a shocked whisper and wagged his finger phatically—' whiskers, mark you, whiskers!' His village dience was more mystified than impressed. But they gave pers to the collection, especially if an old veteran with a waving ck could be induced to come forward and defend his side. He d an anti-temperance speech,too, which used to drive teetotalers frenzy. ' What is the use of fiddling about with a drink here d a drink there?' he demanded rhetorically. ' If a man cannot nk a lot he had far better leave it alone altogether! The derate drinker is worse than the teetotaler. Can you point to single man of genius who does not drink?' he demanded. 'ithout exception, they have been drunkards. Look at the ets—they all drink; the dramatists—Kit Marlowe was killed a drunken brawl through being hit over the head with a quart .. What a glorious death!'

Once he procured an old tall hat which he wore at a meeting, ding it round afterwards for a collection. But this was a stake, for the villagers had never seen the inside of a tall hat ore, and they peered so long and curiously into its depths that y had no time to think of giving anything.

They tramped the roads together, meeting many adventures. they neared a village one day, two girls who were cycling came and asked the way. They had only a few pence, which they e saving for emergencies, but Smith at once invited the girls a wayside refreshment-house, where they had lemonade in a tic bower. He was uneasy till he found he had just enough ney to pay the bill. Saying good-bye to the girls, they walked with empty pockets. The pale-faced young man reproached other bitterly for his extravagance, but Smith only answered, ellowship is life; lack of fellowship is death,' and strode on. had all the inconsequence of a true hobo. Once he set out m London on a ramble that was to last some months. I was prised to meet him in the city in a week or two. ' Why have returned?' I asked. ' I was standing by the station in a le village in Kent and I saw a poster advertising an opera son in London. It came to me suddenly that I hadn't heard a gner opera for months, so I tramped back,' he answered.

When in London the two of them, with others of a vagabond up, stayed in a room over a bookshop near Soho. The pro- etor, a German, took them in more for company than money, with them money was always rare. He liked to discuss books d life. In consequence the shop was always crowded, so that re was no room for customers. Amid piles of mildewed books y banged their fists and raised clouds of dust while maintaining ir views vehemently. ' Nietzsche I love, and next to Nietzsche,

art!' declaimed the pale-faced youth, following this by demanding if any of those present had a pair of boots they could give him. 'I know it sounds funny,' he remarked. 'But it's damned uncomfortable to have wet feet!'

Eager disputants talked of art, science, literature; Lombroso, Shaw, Nordau; the men of the 'nineties, and whether George Moore was the greatest English novelist. The mournful books, sick Russians, gloomy Scandinavians, indigestible Germans, were the favourites. These vagabonds who had to 'beat up' money for food and lodging had a keen interest in literature and expressed themselves well and forcibly. Jack Smith was a skilled worker—a colour printer—so he found it easier to get work than his fellow-lodgers. But whenever he did, his companions jeered at him from their beds in the early morning, till he became angry and refused to get up and leave them. Eugene, the bookseller, roused them all at ten o'clock with the chorus:

Arise, ye starvelings from your slumbers!

Eugene had led a knockabout life from the days when, on leaving Germany, he had been a Buddhist missionary to the time when he made his headquarters as a bookseller in this London street. In Liverpool, where he was very hard-up, he had given some bread to a middle-aged woman, poorer than himself, and from that time she had decided to share his fortunes. She now presided over the domestic part of the establishment and was the vagabonds' landlady. She had no use for books except for Dickens. For everyone else Dickens was anathema. This started a feud between the lodgers and the landlady, until one day she decamped suddenly to continue her wanderings alone. Eugene loved variety, and her place was soon taken by a young Jewish cigarette maker with a flaming mass of hair which bobbed about excitedly in the gloomy shop, or on the narrow pavement outside, like a torch.

Lodgers were allowed a shilling a week in turn for cleaning the windows. But when it came to the pale-faced young man's turn he refused with dignity and walked out with empty pockets. Every morning the vagabonds gathered at a small restaurant run by Soho waiters. Here they filled up the narrow space in front of the counter and waited for someone to supply them with coffee and doughnuts. Apart from German, Swiss, Italian waiters, the main *clientèle* of the place were rolling stones. Here came American hoboes just landed from cattle-boats. They were housed by the obliging Eugene. One, a dope fiend from America, prowled up and down with a white, drawn face till he secured his daily supply of drugs. 'Besides board and lodgings he has to bum an extra shilling a day for dope!' said a fellow-vagabond sympathetically. At Eugene's the gas-meter was burst open occasionally;

sometimes he would miss valuable books, at others he might buy them cheap from his lodgers. But in general a rough standard of honour and loyalty was maintained among them. They made outsiders pay. Eugene and his lodgers devised many ways of whiling away the tedium of life. One was to cut up the contents bills of newspapers and paste them together again in new order. One day they achieved a sensational poster which read in thick black type ' Ramsay MacDonald Assassinated.'

At the Soho restaurant the company ranged from ordinary casuals to a young man who made a living by annexing bicycles, and from the chorus-girls belonging to a neighbouring theatre to daughters of joy from the street. On Saturday night in a dark little hall at the back, three steps down, dances were held and a polyglot medley assembled. Girls, clad principally in red crinkly paper, whirled round, blowing kisses to their friends, their costumes becoming more tattered and scanty as the evening went on. One evening three American hoboes strolled in. They had landed from a cattle-boat that day, and stood by the counter regaling the company with stories of the lumber camps, the hordes of migratory workers trekking after seasonal jobs, the ' blanket stiffs ' who walked, or jumped freight trains, with their blankets rolled up on their backs, the ' jungles ' where they gathered—regular resting-places—each equipped with a huge stockpot and cooking utensils. Each group cleaned up and left provisions for those following on.

Fraser, a loose-limbed man in a big cowboy sombrero, told how while wandering through a small Western town, he had heard the sound of voices singing in the local ' lock-up.' They were singing the hobo song :

> Hallelujah, I'm a bum ! Hallelujah, bum again !
> Hallelujah, Give us a ' hand-out,' to revive us again !

He found that the singers were imprisoned as vagrants, so he passed the word along for more to come. They drifted in till nearly fifty were put in gaol. The mayor began to get alarmed. The gaol was small ; besides, there was the expense. ' Let us all out,' said Fraser, ' or hundreds more will come ! '

They were hurriedly released and ordered to leave the town. But they demanded a substantial breakfast first. So they were herded into the biggest restaurant and fed at the town's expense. Still they were not satisfied. On the menu they saw ' Pumpkin Pie,' and they demanded this for dessert. It was moved, seconded and carried, that they would not go till they received pumpkin pie. These were the high days of American hoboism. Fraser spoke of the joy of riding the freights across the prairie, dropping into a village and knowing that somewhere, somehow, someone

was going to pay for his breakfast. 'It's a grand thing,' he said, absent-mindedly lifting a bun from the counter, 'to go round the world eating other people's biscuits!' Smith drew a deep breath, while the pale-faced youth's eyes were shining. The thin-featured Italian steward leaned forward between his two sizzling copper urns—one for tea and one for coffee. He grasped a duster in one hand with which he mechanically wiped the counter. Behind him, on the shelves, were packets of tea and groceries; a glass case contained exhibits of cheese cakes, buns, ham rolls, apparently preserved from antiquity. He peered wistfully at Fraser's tanned, hard-bitten countenance and at the loose, free gestures of the others.

Presently a tiny Chinese boy in a flat blue cap slipped in. With his expressionless yellow face he looked like a doll, badly dressed in baggy English clothes. Taking three short oblong sticks, marked with queer characters, from his pocket he threw them up in the air, juggling with them dexterously. Always ready to be amused, the group watched with lazy interest. Pulling off his flat blue cap, the boy silently went round harvesting coppers. Smith, with the easy generosity of a fellow-vagabond, took him down to amuse the dancers. The hall below was crammed with men and women of almost every nationality and colour. The boy arrived in the middle of a dance, and a woman from one corner rushed across to him excitedly and began twittering in an unknown tongue. He chirped back. It sounded like a gramophone when the needle gets out of its groove—a harsh whirring sound. Suddenly the M.C. burst into the group complaining in several languages that the dance was being interrupted. A babble of voices rose, and I saw that the Chinese boy, streak-like, had vanished.

The vagabonds spent their days and nights banging tin trays and roaring out choruses which drove the Italian hairdresser next door nearly frantic. Poking his indignant red face, crowned with a mass of black curly hair, in at the door, he would hiss, 'Will you geep guiet! You los me al my gustomers!' while his thick, short fingers worked convulsively.

'Go away,' replied Smith, pausing from beating his tray. 'You have no right to interfere with our concert!'

The barber retired discomfited, but with voluble abuse. The vagabonds dared each other to risk a shave in his shop. But none of them ever did.

One evening when the barber had been specially abusive the pale-faced young man slipped out and, by way of reprisal, hurled a stone through the window, crying in a loud voice, 'Down with Italy!' Doorways erupted humanity. From shops and houses people poured into the street, Austrians, Germans, Swiss, Italians

—an angry swarm. In a moment they were struggling, knives flashed, police whistles blew, and all the ingredients of a riot were stirred together.

Clustered about the restaurant counter one night some of the vagabonds were busy, as usual, discussing the affairs of the world. In the doorway, a cup of tea in his hand, stood a burly, bearded man in thick boots and a heavy tweed coat. Smith was talking about his travels and telling how the country looked, a subject which always stirred him. The stranger listened curiously.

'Would you like to go back to the land ?' he asked suddenly.

'Why not ?' said Smith. 'If we had the chance !'

'I have some land in North Wales,' explained the man, 'and if you really want to work on the land I'll give you the chance. Here are the papers.' He pulled out some official-looking documents. 'There is a house too,' he went on. 'You can live in that. I'll make it over to you. To make it legal you must give me something—a penny will do !'

'How do we get to North Wales ?' objected Smith. 'We're stony.'

'I'll give you the money for your fares,' said the stranger, 'that is, if you're willing to go.'

It was agreed that six should go down, and the farmer gave them 30s. each and full details, even to the time the train started. He explained that there was a woman living in the house, but said they were to take no notice of her. They were not to say anything to the people in the village, but to go straight to the house. If by any chance they failed to gain an entrance, they were to take a note to the local scoutmaster, who would let them have a tent which they could pitch on the land. These rolling stones were willing to roll anywhere. It was all one to them. One or two suggested that they should spend their fare money on the way to the station. But the others were curious to see the matter through. So they tumbled out of the train at the North Wales station that evening. Their instructions were precise, but the place was unfamiliar. They left the village without inquiry and set off down a dark country road.

A tall, spare-boned countryman approached from the opposite direction. 'I'm going to ask,' said Smith, as there seemed no sign of their destination.

'You are on the right road !' said the man, in a high-pitched, sing-song voice. 'But do not go there to-night. It is too late. Come back to the village !'

They refused to do this, and when he had passed them they heard quick footsteps as if he had started to run. Huge branches sprawled across the road in twisted, menacing shapes. They began to feel an eeriness about the place. Round the bend was

a white house, standing alone, which tallied with the description they had. It looked ghostly in the gloom.

'It's now or never,' said Smith, as they arrived, grasping the heavy knocker and bringing it down with a crash. The sound reverberated, and then there was stillness. They knocked and knocked, standing in a shivering group. At last Smith, not to be outdone, wrapped his cap round his fist and smashed a window-pane. The tinkle of falling glass made them start. He was about to force the catch, when there came the sound of tramping feet, scrunching the gravel of the lane. It sounded like an army. Round the bend came about fifty men, each grasping a stout stick. They drew closer, muttering fiercely.

'Welsh!' whispered the pale-faced youth.

One of them stepped out. It was the tall countryman.

'You must come back to the village and not interfere with the lady of the house,' he said.

They looked at the men and decided it was best to obey. Their escort took them as far as the village publichouse, and they had hardly entered when the local policeman came in.

'Now then,' he began. 'What do you mean by making trouble here! Don't you know better than to be molesting a lonely woman!'

They explained about the agreement, all talking at once.

'I thought so,' said the policeman with a grin. 'He keeps sending men down here to annoy her. She's his wife, you know. The villagers take her side. I advise you to go.'

He went, and the dreams of their landed estate vanished with him.

Next day they went to see the scoutmaster, who handed them the tent. They fixed it up on the land and lit a fire in it which nearly smothered them. Then they wired to the farmer, 'In possession. Send money.' No answer came!

The following day began the retreat to London. The party broke up. Smith and the pale-faced young man went off together. Wearily they trekked for miles down a long road with a high wall on one side and a fence with tall trees on the other. Presently they reached a toll-gate where pedestrians had to pay. They had no money, but they did not want to go back. A tin can in which they boiled water for tea was their only possession. They explained the position to the toll-keeper and he let them through. But he kept the can!

Among these shiftless vagabonds some had talents. I remember the little poet who knew a surprising amount about books, painting and music, but still more about publichouses. The story of his travels was little more than an inventory of the inns and [illegible]

zigzag like a horse drawing a cart up a steep hill. His dearest ossession was a gramophone, which, when it did not accompany m on his journeys, reposed in a pawnbroker's until his return. Then Mendelssohn's *Spring Song* or Rubenstein's *Melody in F* nkled out gaily, his friends knew he was sober. But when he rank, the sombre tones of Schubert's *Unfinished Symphony* would e played over and over again while he swayed to the music. reated in this way it seemed more unfinished than ever. Yet he ad a feeling for the beauty of words and of life. Down on the mbankment or around the London docks he dreamed, and out t his dreaming came verses filled with the wonder and adventure f wandering, of ships slipping away on the tides of the world. Of ie East India Dock at midnight, where red and green lights linked through the mist, while sirens hooted or shrieked across ie dark water, he wrote :

> Slowly the boat goes out,
> Gigantic, gaunt and grey,
> The captain claps the trumpet to his mouth—
> ' Star-r-rboard ! '
> His voice sings out within my soul,
> But 'tis—O ! so far away.
> Out into the deep sea, deep night, and
> Deeper, deeper silence
> Slowly the boat goes out.

uch visions and verses filled his mind, their vagrant sweetness aking the place of a night's lodging and a meal. A very different haracter was the rollicking Jamaican, black and shiny, who was lways ready to take a party to Chinatown to burn the nights in riot of Oriental music and gaiety. He wrote of one such excur-on to that shuttered quarter, so drab outside, so colourful ithin :

> About Soho we went before the light,
> We went, unresting six, craving new fun,
> New scenes, new raptures, ere the fevered night
> Of rollicking laughter, drink and song was done.
> The vault was void but for the dawn's great star
> That shed upon our path its silver flame,
> When La Paloma on a low guitar
> Abruptly from a darkened casement came—
> Harlem ! All else a blank I saw the hall
> And you in your red shoulder sash came dancing
> With Val, against me, careless by the wall
> Your burning coffee-coloured eyes keen glancing
> Aslant at mine, proud in your golden glory
> I loved you, Cuban girl, fond sweet Diory.

Chinatown broke like a chrysalis, shaking free its coloured

and red streamers, with gold and silver Chinese characters scrawled across them. The orchestra sat on silken cushions on a raised dais at one end of the room. Some of these were graceful Chinese girls, though the long flowing robes which they all wore made the only mark of distinction their long black silky hair. Weird crooning instruments, drums of snakeskin, and shrill pipes were played. The room was filled with quiet Chinamen, some in blue dungarees who were themselves rolling stones of the world, cast up in these dingy streets, trying bravely to reproduce the colour of their native land. In a room beneath, a big handsome ivory-tinted Chinese woman sat with two small children who played with several fat little puppies. At a gloomy corner opposite a square lantern, with black spidery characters on the glass, was swinging in the doorway. Here, under the direction of a horribly cross-eyed Chinaman, opium and hashish were supplied. In this room inert Chinese lay, enjoying their pipe dreams.

Not far away was the Cosmopolitan Club, where the vagabonds warmed themselves at the big black stove or loafed at the tables. They warmed themselves in the gay atmosphere, too. Here all could have their fill of talking, of singing, of dancing. When the Jamaican first appeared at the club accompanied by a coffee-coloured friend, who contrasted pleasantly with his ebony features, there were murmurs among the white vagabonds because the girls of the club clustered about the new-comers.

'It's all very well to be free and easy,' growled one. 'But I don't like to see white girls running after niggers!'

White vagabondage has its conventions. Later the Jamaican —who achieved success as a poet and a novelist—got into trouble in New York through dancing with a white girl there. At the Cosmopolitan Club nationalities sorted themselves out roughly—one group of Esthonians usually got together in a corner and pounded the table in time with their national songs. All were rolling stones who had gathered little moss. Broken boots, drink and sordidness punctuated the gaiety of their lives, but they remained faithful to their tattered flag.

R. M. Fox.

HAIG

The recent controversy about Earl Haig's statue incidentally gave us a glimpse of the almost passionately affectionate admiration with which he was regarded by all those who were at all closely associated with him during the Great War or afterwards. It is as if a corner—one corner only—of a veil had been lifted. Hitherto that admiration has been almost inarticulate. Apart from the fact that soldiers are, from their training, prone to be tongue-tied, he was so sweetly modest himself that to praise him openly while he lived was impossible; and his unexpected death came as so staggering a blow that it left his friends dazed and breathless. The historian of the future, searching the literature of the day, would get no conception of the intensity of the feeling which he inspired.

Every writer who praises Haig seems to think it necessary to preface his eulogium with the statement that he was not a genius. One wonders. No word has been, perhaps, more variously defined, and none is more undefinable, than this same 'genius.' Samuel Butler wrote an essay, longer than was his wont, in an effort to find some sort of definition of it; and he told us nothing. He concluded:

> He who would know more of Genius must turn to what he can find in the poets, or to whatever other sources he may discover, for I can help him no further.

One suspects that to those who deny to Haig this indefinable excellence the only real strokes of genius in the war were the Antwerp expedition, Salonica, Mesopotamia and the Dardanelles: all those short cuts to victory which the best soldiers in all the armies knew, so far as anything approaching finality was concerned, to be futile. When the Germans won successes in the east they valued them in proportion, as the result was to release troops for the real battlefield in France and Belgium. They had no shadow of doubt where the decision must ultimately be reached, any more than had Foch or Pershing or Haig.

Curiously enough, many of those who deny genius to Haig concede it readily to Foch, whose brain, it is supposed, conceived the plan of those concerted attacks which in the latter half of

1918 brought victory with such unexpected—such almost incredible—swiftness. But is it not time that the world was made to understand that in essential features the plan was more Haig's than Foch's: that whatever of vision or 'genius' there was in it was contributed by the British Commander's amendments of Foch's original and comparatively crude proposals?

The truth has, indeed, been told. It was told by Dewar and Boraston in their volumes *Sir Douglas Haig's Command*; and more recently it has been told by General Charteris in his book *Field-Marshal Earl Haig*. But we are a curious people. It is entirely in accordance with tradition that a commander-in-chief, when in the field abroad, should be subjected to all manner of detraction and misrepresentation at home. It would have been strange if there had not been jealousy of Haig and cabals had not been formed against him. But there are some men still conspicuous in English public life who must shudder when they think what kind of figure they will cut in the eyes of posterity when diaries are unsealed and notebooks have given up their secrets to the historian of the future. Besides politicians there were, and are still living, writers of more or less distinction—novelists, journalists and publicists—who, if they had been Frenchmen and had been equally active as agents of defeatism in France, would surely have been arrested and tried. Some would almost certainly have been shot.[1]

For the legend of our inferiority to the French in strategy, in the knowledge of war and the ability to handle large armies, Henry Wilson (whom no one will accuse of any crime more serious than vanity) was probably more responsible than any other man or group of men. At the beginning of the war the French themselves were less confident on the subject, and there are good authorities who believe that there was a moment when they might have accepted Lord Kitchener as Generalissimo, so

[1] It is worth noting that of the professional writers who, in the decade immediately succeeding the war, may be assumed to have most influenced English opinion the most conspicuous—Wells, Montague, Nevinson, Tomlinson, Gibbs—were all by tradition either professing Socialists or members of the Liberal left wing. For some of them, with everybody else who knows them, I have, as much for their characters as their ability, a profound respect. But none of them could be said to be temperamentally prejudiced in favour of constituted authority. Together—one writing in mere ignorance, another, I fear, in malice, and the other three with the best intentions and largely unconscious of the effect they were producing—they are responsible for an amount of misunderstanding and depreciation of the British High Command and of staff officers in general which has been cruelly unjust. Of the non-professional writers it would probably be difficult to select men less likely, by reason of their respective personal peculiarities or ambitions, to be just to our Commanders than the three whose writings have, perhaps, had most vogue: Repington, Henry Wilson, and Winston Churchill.

h was his reputation in France, and so obvious was it that ey had no soldier of approximately his experience in actual rfare. If so, their mood of modesty was of short duration; d we, of course, never considered ourselves to have any claim the chief command. The war was being fought on French l, where our Allies marshalled armies compared to which the divisions which we sent to their aid in 1914 were insignificant. ıy suggestion of a British chief command would have been pertinence. The most that we could expect—and did demand was that the British Army, while conforming to the strategy its ally, would be treated as an independent unit for the fety of which the British Commander-in-Chief was answerle to the nation. It may, none the less, be interesting to nsider what would have happened if Haig had been in comnd of all the armies on the Western Front even from 1914 wards.

In considering the matter there is no need to go into hypoetical or controversial points. Certain things there are which ıst be accepted as indisputable by even the most patriotic enchman. For example:

(1) There would then have been no Nivelle fiasco in the ginning of 1917. Presumably there would then have been no utiny in the French Army, nor any of that deterioration of *ral* which put that army practically out of account as a hting force throughout 1917 and left it unreliable even to the d of the war.

(2) In their attack of March 1918 the Germans would have und the front opposed to them fully manned and ready, for aig and the British G.H.Q. were in no doubt as to what was ming and where the blow was to fall. Nor, if the Germans d made any penetration, would there have been delay in rowing in reserves nor any of the miserable talk of falling back cover Paris, leaving the way open to the enemy to drive a edge between the Allied armies.

These two things, at least, and the two prime blunders of the llied strategy on the Western Front—the Nivelle adventure ıd the failure to prepare any adequate defence against the erman attack—would never have been permitted if Haig had ıd supreme authority.

So completely was the legend of French superiority accepted at it was only by slow degrees that any suspicion of the truth wned on English minds generally, though it is known that either Haig himself nor any of his immediate staff ever believed it. One remembers now with amusement how gratified we ere when a distinguished French soldier made a tour of our ont and was afterwards reported to have formed a very high

opinion of our 'large' staffs—meaning, presumably, G.H.Q. and the armies—and that it was only the 'small' ones—supposedly the corps and divisions—which were so faulty. We thought it quite a flattering judgment. Certainly the French *liaison* officer who communicated the facts to us expected us to be much gratified. Only slowly did certain things force themselves on our attention.

It became impossible to ignore the inferior quality of the French transport (for all that individual transport officers on occasions worked miracles with the inadequate material at their disposal) and the inefficiency of their road control, in spite of the multiplicity of signs and the abundance of men on point duty. At first, again, when we heard that every French soldier had as ration a litre of wine a day, we thought how much better they were off than our men, and we recalled that the maxim that an army marches on its stomach was of French origin; but at quite an early stage in the war Haig ordered a lot of our rations to be given to neighbouring French troops because he did not believe that their own were enough for men to fight on. Also, anyone who moved much in French areas was obliged to see something of the shocking character of the French hospital system for care of the wounded. I have heard Frenchmen advance this as one of the explanations of the greater proportion of deaths to total casualties in their army as compared with ours, which makes it so difficult for us to understand French computations of their losses.

None of these three things may in itself be vital. But, while the Nivelle fiasco was the immediate cause of the mutinies in the French Army, it is impossible not to wonder whether, if the troops had had better transport, if they had been better fed and better cared for when wounded, they would not have been more contented and better able to resist the poisonous effect of the defeatist propaganda.

More important than any of these, however, was the inferiority of the French intelligence. One gathers, from French sources, that the rivalry between the military and the political intelligence staffs may have had much to do with it. Whatever its causes, the most notorious examples of this inferiority were:

(*a*) The French refusal, in spite of our repeated assurances, to believe in the German withdrawal in the winter of 1916–17;

(*b*) The disastrous failure to interpret correctly the German preparations for attack in March 1918.

(*c*) The stubborn reluctance a little later to believe, in spite of the arguments urged upon them both by Haig and by the British commander on the spot, General (now Sir Alexander) Hamilton-Gordon, that further attack was to be expected on

the particular section of the Aisne front to which five exhausted British divisions had been sent to 'rest'!

How far faulty intelligence was to blame for other French strategical or tactical errors it is as yet impossible to say; but it is remarkable that, in the course of his command, Haig, whose one object, in order to ensure co-operation, was always if possible to comply with every French request, even in opposition to the wishes sometimes of his own Government, found himself compelled either definitely to refuse to acquiesce in, or to comply against his judgment with, plans or orders of every one of the four successive French Commanders-in-Chief.

In the early stages of the Battle of the Somme Joffre desired Haig to go on with frontal attacks on the Thiepval positions, which could only have resulted in useless and terrible waste of life. It is said that he thumped the table to emphasise his '*J'insiste!*' Haig firmly refused and attained the ends Joffre sought by means which involved not a tithe of the sacrifice that Joffre's plan would have exacted.

That Haig had no belief in Nivelle's catastrophic master-stroke of 1917 is notorious. He was ordered to acquiesce, and had no choice but to do so or resign his command. So far as lay in his power, by the brilliance of his supporting operation he did all he could to make it a success. But he never believed that it could succeed. On the other hand, the French were profoundly distrustful of Haig's plans, as part of that supporting operation, for the capture of the Vimy Ridge, which they themselves had so signally failed to attain. The immediate and sweeping character of our success astounded them.

Nivelle was followed by Pétain, and it is not easy to put into courteous words even the briefest summary of his period of command: the political pressure which forced us to take over the extra line in spite of Haig's opposition; the refusal of the French G.Q.G. to believe in the peril to which the weakest point in the Allied front was exposed; Pétain's failure to move up his reserves in accordance with the spirit of the agreement made with Haig, and his pitiable decision, apparently the fruit of panic, to try to cover Paris at the price of giving to the enemy the very opening which he was risking his all to win. It is a disastrous tale; and it forced on Haig the conviction that Petain, though preferable to Nivelle, was not a man on whom it was possible to depend in a crisis. Some man with larger vision, who could see the front as a whole, was necessary, and he knew that, if he was to be able to rely on the cordial co-operation of our Ally, that man must be a Frenchman. This conviction made Haig ask for a Generalissimo—and for Foch.

It is nothing less than deplorable that Clemenceau should have

left to the world the fantastic story of the attainment of unity of command which is given in his Memoirs. When the subject was first broached to Haig (in 1918—as if the subject were new to him then !) he 'leaped up like a jack-in-the-box with both hands shot up to heaven '—I quote from the serialised English version—'and exclaimed : " Monsieur Clemenceau, I have only one chief and can have no other—my King ! " ' All of which is obviously only a dramatisation of the way in which an imaginative Frenchman might suppose a typical British general to behave. As applied to the real Haig, it is merely grotesque. The whole story of the Doullens Conference, as given by Clemenceau, clashes at every point with the authentic records, and the only explanation is that in his last days the great brain of Father Victory was playing sad tricks with his memory.

In Foch, Haig had a gallant and honourable soldier with whom he could co-operate heartily. But the strategy which finished the war in 1918 was not Foch's, but Haig's own. If Foch had had the sole strategic direction of events without Haig's advice—nay, his pressure—it is, at least, improbable that the war could have been ended before, at earliest, the summer of 1919.

The first sharp difference of opinion arose over Foch's insistence that the British troops should make a frontal attack on the practically impregnable position of the Royes-Chaulnes line in the latter part of August 1918, to which Haig felt compelled to oppose a positive refusal. It was a repetition of the conflict with Joffre over the Thiepval operation ; and once again events showed Haig to have been incontestably right.

More momentous was Haig's correction of Foch's whole scheme for the Allied advance, converting a series of local attacks with limited territorial objectives into the far-seeing plan which broke the German resistance. Even after he had accepted Haig's modification, Foch was still looking forward to the summer of 1919, when Haig, with what Henry Wilson called his 'ridiculous optimism,' was bent on victory that autumn.

This last statement, however, involves no disparagement of the great French Commander-in-Chief, whose name the whole world holds in honour. It has to be remembered that he was at the head of, and was surrounded by, an army in which war weariness and disaffection had lately led to widespread mutiny. Its fighting spirit had been partially restored, but partially only, as the sluggishness and backwardness of the French troops throughout the final advance, in comparison with the other Allies, showed only too clearly. Haig had behind him an army, war-worn certainly, but as magnificently willing as ever. It was impossible that the outlook of the two commanders should not have been in a measure affected by their knowledge of the spirit

of their respective armies. Foch understood, partially at least, because he more than once put a strain on British troops which it is unlikely that he would, at that stage of the war, either have expected or asked French troops to endure. But he may well have regarded as impossible an achievement which the British Commander-in-Chief knew to be not beyond the capacity of his army. If their places had been reversed, it might well have been Foch who held the more sanguine view, Haig the more cautious.

This, however, is surmise. Of the statements of fact in all the foregoing there is none which is open to dispute—none indeed, which is new or which will not be confirmed by every fresh disclosure of contemporary records. This being so—if these are not only the facts, but the known facts—how comes it that the world has so distorted a view of the events and personalities of the war? The chief causes have already been indicated: the cabals, intrigues, and jealousies which had hampered our commanders while the war was in progress clouded the air when hostilities ceased. Only those rushed into print—politicians, soldiers, publicists—who had something to explain, or to apologise for, and pacifists who, having been restrained from railing at the war or its conductors till the victory was won, now burst into agitated description of its horrors; the horrors which were too tempting a theme for both the writer of fiction and the sociologist—till the public, wearied, begged that there should be no more war talk. The clamour and the silence alike left Haig unmoved. Confident of or indifferent to the verdict of posterity, he went about the work which absorbed his later years, the endeavour to ease the lot of the survivors of the armies which he had led. And his self-effacement put a restraint on others. It was as if he laid a command on those who loved him to emulate his silence.

While, therefore, in England the only voices heard were those of depreciation of the British effort, of self-excuse and of so-called 'revelation,' France leaped to proclaim her glory and her suffering to the world. Whatever there had been of defeatism, of intrigue or of treachery in France while the war lasted, as soon as peace came soldiers, statesmen, writers of all kinds, united with one voice in calling the world to witness the splendour of the French achievement, the magnitude of the French sacrifice. Englishmen may have looked with something like aversion on both the bragging and the begging; but as an effort for national publicity it was magnificent. The story of Verdun (even of Rheims!) is familiar to millions in many countries who know nothing of Ypres. Putting Foch aside, there are many French generals—Gouraud, Mangin, Manoury, and the rest (splendid fellows all of them)—who are household heroes in places where

Haig is but poorly thought of and none of his army commanders is even a name.

General Pershing, with characteristic soldierly directness, has stated bluntly that Haig was 'the outstanding figure of the World War'; and if anybody was in a position to judge, it should be he. But it is curious that it should have been left to one who was not an Englishman to come out with the truth.

It is said (and probably the ultimate disclosure of all documents will verify it) that he was the first among the leading men of England, soldiers or politicians, to foresee that the war must be a matter of years; and that he had to urge his views on Kitchener himself. It is easy to say that a Napoleon would have found some short cut to victory. Very probably at one period he could—if, that is, he had had command of the French armies at the outbreak of war. But whatever chance there may have been then was thrown away by the initial French strategy. Once the struggle had settled down to trench warfare there was no alternative: the enemy must be hammered until his man power was exhausted or his *moral* broken. A whole college of Napoleons could have found no other way. Haig never wavered in his confidence that this was the only way and that ultimately he would succeed. But for the unkindness of the weather, a decision might well have been reached at the end of 1916 on the Somme; so Haig thought, and Ludendorff's disclosures have shown that he was right. If the plans agreed upon between Haig and Joffre had been allowed to stand, there is every likelihood that the war would have been ended in 1917; but the politicians took matters out of Haig's hands and the Nivelle episode followed, ruining the French Army and destroying all hope of victory till, at least, another year. It was, again, the politicians' insistence on Haig's taking over more line and the refusal to send out reinforcements that, after the Russian collapse had released the German divisions on the Eastern front, gave the enemy his chance in 1918. The Government—which, presumably, is to say Mr. Lloyd George—had visions of a victory in the Eastern theatre in 1918 to be followed by victory in the West in 1919 or 1920. Haig, Robertson, and others urged on him that the one essential thing was to prepare for and smash the great German offensive which was coming, for which purpose every man, gun, and aeroplane not needed for the defence of vital points elsewhere should be moved to France. That offensive once effectively crushed, the end of the war would be in sight. But argument was useless. Haig was starved of reinforcements, which were at hand, and, strongly protesting, made to face the crisis of the war with an extended line and his divisions reduced by the strength of three battalions.

Intrigues, cabals, jealousy—these things, as has been said, are the common lot of commanders-in-chief in the field; but Haig's treatment by his own Government was surely without a precedent—the holding back of reinforcements in crises where they were needed; the draining away of his strength in futile excursions of which he utterly disapproved; the quarrelling with his and his experts' views as to the artillery requirements of the Army; the disowning of all responsibility in one grave emergency after another, leaving him to bear the whole burden alone; and finally the unconcealed belief that French plans were always to be preferred to his. People at home knew nothing of the unnecessary load which the intrigues, the conceit and pettiness of spirit of some in high places at home laid upon him—a load which he had to bear in utmost loneliness.

Between Sir William Robertson and Haig, happily, the most cordial relations always existed. They had the same dislike of the talkers and amateur strategists; the same clear conception of the problem which the war presented and of the true means to its solution. The members of his Staff and his army and corps commanders—all the soldiers who had any personal relations with him—were loyal with a loyalty which grew with the passage of time, a loyalty compounded of confidence and a deep and affectionate devotion. None the less he was singularly lonely—partly from a certain shy aloofness which was of the essence of his character, but still more because he knew that in the last resort he could neither share nor shirk responsibility. Profoundly religious, he never wavered in his certainty that God would give us victory in the end. Never was man more steadfast, more sure of himself, or, for all his gentleness of manner, more immovable when once his decision was reached. No man ever saw him flustered or 'rattled.' Whatever humiliation the Government to which he ought to have been able to look for help and confidence put upon him, or however much it added to the difficulty of his task, he met it—for he was a man of few words—with a sentence of contempt and the quizzical smile which those about him knew so well. Rarely has man been given a face of such beauty—so compounded of sweetness and strength.

Haig's conduct of the war has never, in any material particular, been seriously criticised by any soldier of repute. Whether he should have broken off the Passchendaele offensive a week sooner—whether he ought to have foreseen that the divisions on the right of the Cambrai salient might break—these things may be argued for centuries, but they are details only. His superiority as strategist or tactician to each of the successive French Commanders-in-Chief has already been seen. Whether the clear-sightedness with which he foresaw the eventual course of the

war and the steadfastness with which, though harassed and obstructed by those on whom he ought to have been able most to rely for support, he held without swerving to the appointed end, finally bringing his army (which, Heaven knows, he had never spared) to the last great trial of strength the most splendid fighting machine that the world has ever seen—whether this was genius or not is mere word-splitting. If it was not, it was something finer.

As the war sinks into the distance, all the hubbub and distractions die away and disappear. In the light of fuller knowledge, with the exposure of all sealed and confidential documents, the intrigues and jealousies, the deceptions and disloyalties, will be understood for what they were. Already we are beginning to see the war as a whole—as Haig saw it from the beginning. Through the mists of time only the large outlines will stand forth and the great figures. And incomparably the greatest of these will be Haig. His soldiers, all those who were close to him, have never doubted it. They at least are secure in their confidence that posterity will understand, and that to future generations of Englishmen, if Nelson's name or Wellington's or Marlborough's stands as high as his, there will certainly be no other. Nor will any, even of these three, stand higher.

But it seems a pity that the truth should have been so hidden from the present generation. The injustice to Haig himself may be immaterial. He knew that he could wait. But it has been unjust to Great Britain's reputation among the nations, and, above all, unjust to our dead and to the survivors of the armies which he loved and in confidence in the ultimate triumph of which he never for a moment faltered.

H. PERRY ROBINSON.

INDEX TO VOL. CVII

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